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POLITICS AND POLITICIANS:

A SUCCINCT HISTORY

OF THE

POLITICS OF ILLINOIS

FROM 1856 TO 1884,

WITH ANECDOTES AND INCIDENTS,

AND

APPENDIX FROM 1809 TO 1856.

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME.

By D^r. W. LUSK.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.
1884.

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P R E F A C E.

The purpose of the writer in presenting this volume to the public has been to put into convenient form the political history of the State, and to outline succinctly the National politics from the time Washington was elected President to the inauguration of President Arthur, together with anecdotes and incidents, bringing vividly to view the men and the measures that have contributed in giving Illinois so proud a position in the sisterhood of States. In the personal mention, the writer has not sought to elevate the character of one man by detracting from that of another; nor has he endeavored to belittle one political party for the purpose of reflecting lustre upon another; but has dealt impartially with both men and parties, and in a spirit of perfect candor and fairness, dealing only with the truth of history as he has found it. In the collation of facts the writer has been guided by the records as preserved in the archives of the State and the official publications of the National Government, which he has examined personally, and he hazards the belief that the volume will be found authentic and reliable in all its details.

Finally, he has not prepared a book for the hour, to be read and cast aside, but one which comprehends in

brief the history of the State for more than a quarter of a century—from 1856 to 1884—written from personal observation. In the Appendix, he has collected from the best sources and with absolute care the leading incidents and facts in the history of the Territory and State from 1809 and 1818 to 1856. In the seventy-five years in which Illinois has been a part of the government of the Nation she has ever occupied a prominent position, and her history is replete with many stirring and thrilling events, and her progress in all matters which tend to render a State grand or great has been marvelous, of which a faithful record is given.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, JUNE 1, 1884.

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CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

Formation of Parties—First Election of Washington without Political Significance—Election of John Adams as a Federalist—Jefferson Elected as a Republican—Madison as a Republican—Monroe as a Republican—John Quincy Adams as a Coalitionist—Jackson as a Democrat—Van Buren as a Democrat—Harrison as a Whig—Polk as a Democrat—Taylor as a Whig—Pierce as a Democrat—Buchanan as a Democrat—Only Presidents Elected by the House of Representatives—National Conventions—Federal Party—Democratic—National Republican—Whig—Abolition—Free Soil—Know-Nothing—Native American—Republican—Slavery Question—Election of Bissell—Dred Scott Decision—Repeal of the Missouri Compromise—Attempt to make Kansas a Slave State.

In order to intelligently lay the foundation of our history, **POLITICS AND POLITICIANS OF ILLINOIS**, which begins in 1856 with the campaign in which the Republican party was organized, a brief retrospect reference is made to National politics.

Historians are not agreed as to the exact time of the formation of political parties in the United States, but it is accepted that Washington, the first President, was elected in 1789 without political significance, and that at his second election, in 1792, he was denominated a Federalist. In 1796, John Adams, his successor, was elected as a Federalist. In 1800, Thomas Jefferson was elected as a Republican. There was a tie in the Electoral College between him and Aaron Burr, and the election was carried to the House of Representatives. Jefferson was elected President and Burr Vice-President. In 1804, Jefferson succeeded himself as a Republican. In 1808, James Madison was elected as a Republican. In 1812, he succeeded himself as a Republican.

In 1816, James Monroe was elected as a Republican. He succeeded himself in 1820 as a Republican. In 1824, John Quincy Adams was elected as a Coalitionist. There were four candidates, Andrew Jackson, Wm. H. Crawford, Henry Clay, and Adams. Jackson received a plurality of the popular vote, but there was no election by the Electoral College, and the issue was carried to the House of Representatives, where Adams was elected by a coalition. In 1828, Andrew Jackson was elected as a Democrat, and succeeded himself as such in 1832. In 1836, Martin Van Buren was elected as a Democrat; and as there was no choice in the Electoral College for Vice-President, the Senate of the United States elected R. M. Johnson to that office. In 1840 William Henry Harrison was elected as a Whig. In 1844, James K. Polk was elected as a Democrat. In 1848, Zachary Taylor was elected as a Whig. In 1852, Franklin Pierce was elected as a Democrat, and in 1856, James Buchanan was elected as a Democrat. We have thus traced the Presidential elections to 1856. Jefferson and Adams were the only Presidents ever elected by the House of Representatives.

The National convention system was not introduced until as late as 1831. Prior to that time candidates for President and Vice-President were nominated by congressional and legislative caucuses. Jackson and Calhoun were nominated in that manner in 1832 for President and Vice-President, but there was much opposition to the nomination of Calhoun, and a National convention was held at Baltimore, in May, to nominate a candidate for that office. Martin Van Buren was nominated, and elected with Jackson. In May, 1835, the Democrats assembled in National convention at Baltimore, and nominated Martin Van Buren for President. In the same year, December 4, the Whigs held their first National convention, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, nominating William Henry Harrison for President, and Francis

Granger for Vice-President. From this time the respective parties have selected their candidates for President and Vice-President through National conventions.

From the time the Government was formed there had been, to 1856, inclusive, nine distinct political parties, which were National in character, and appeared in the order in which we give them here. In 1789, the Federal party was organized. It favored the Federal Alliance or confederation, and claimed to be the preserver of the Union. Those who opposed that party in the time of Washington were known as Anti-Federalists, but afterward took the name of Republicans. In 1807, the Democratic party was organized, and although the principles advocated by this party changed from time to time, they have studiously held on to the original name. In 1831, the National Republican party was organized, to oppose the Democratic party; and in 1834, the Whig party was organized in New York, as the continuation of the National Republican party. In 1840, the Abolition party appeared. Its distinctive feature was the advocacy of the abolition of slavery in the States which then held to that institution. In 1848, the Free Soil party was organized. It opposed the introduction of slavery into the Territories. The Know-Nothing party was formed in 1852 as a secret organization. It announced the doctrine that "Americans should rule America," and for a time was successful in some of the States. In 1856, it was known as the Native American party. In that year the present Republican party was organized, with the avowed purpose of putting an end to the further extension of slavery.

The Abolition party made an incipient effort, in 1840, to run a candidate for President in the person of James G. Birney, of Michigan, nominating him at a convention held at Warsaw, New York, as early as November 18, 1839. He received but 7,059 votes in all the States, and 149 of

these were cast in Illinois. In 1844, the Abolitionists again presented Birney, nominating him at Buffalo, New York, August 30, 1843. This time he received 62,300 votes. Of these Illinois cast 3,570.

The next anti-slavery candidate was Martin Van Buren, who was nominated by a Free Soil convention held at Buffalo, on the 9th of August, 1848. It was composed chiefly of Free Soil Democrats. His aggregate vote was 291,263, and 15,774 of this number were cast in Illinois. In August, 1852, the Free Soil Democrats assembled at Pittsburgh, and nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, as their candidate for President. His vote was not so large as Van Buren's, it being only 156,149. Illinois gave him 9,966. But notwithstanding his vote was much less than Van Buren's, it furnished conclusive evidence that the anti-slavery sentiment had taken a strong hold upon the minds of the people South as well as North, for Free Soil electoral tickets were formed in the slave States of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland and North Carolina.

(See Greeley & Cleveland's Political Text Book, 1860, and Lanman's Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States, 1876.)

In the midst of these fruitless attempts to elect an anti-slavery man to the Presidency, there was a constant augmentation of the anti-slavery sentiment in all the free States and Territories; and the nomination of Martin Van Buren was the first outward evidence that the thoughtful, practical men of the country were taking hold of the question. It had evidently become apparent to the minds of the anti-slavery factions of the Democratic and Whig parties North and South—the men who were not willing to follow their party leaders blindly into error—that the Whig party would ultimately be swallowed up by the Democratic party, which would, in their judgment, result disastrously to the country. But the question was, how

should they arrest the great storm so visible to them in the political sky. Their numbers were comparatively few. They were fearless of all consequences. To their minds a new party seemed necessary to save the country from an intestine conflict. Martin Van Buren, of whom we have spoken, who had succeeded Andrew Jackson as President of the United States in 1836, and had been the Democratic candidate for President in 1840, against William Henry Harrison, was nominated by them for President as the candidate of the Free Soil party. The result of his nomination was the defeat of Louis Cass, the regular Democratic candidate, and the election of Zachary Taylor. This election seemed only to put off the evil day, for the Democratic party succeeded four years after in electing Franklin Pierce over Winfield Scott, the candidate of the Whig party.

The Free Soil party having announced no principle except that of hostility to the further spread of slavery, did not commend itself to the favor of the people North, South, East and West who did not desire to enlist under the Democratic banner, and many of them united with the Native American party, which came forward in 1856, as the successor of the Whig and Know-Nothing parties, with Millard Fillmore, the Vice-President under Taylor and President after his death, as its candidate for President. In the meantime the Free Soil party had abandoned its original name and came forward with a new name—the Republican party—a new platform of principles and new accessions, chiefly from the Democratic party, in all the Eastern and Northwestern States, and John C. Fremont was chosen as its candidate for President, under the bold and broad declaration that there should be no further extension of slavery. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan. The triangular race resulted in the election of Mr. Buchanan, whose aggregate vote was

1,838,169; Fremont, 1,841,264; Fillmore, 874,534. Mr. Buchanan's plurality in Illinois was 9,159; Fremont's vote in Illinois was 96,189, and Fillmore's 37,444. But although Illinois cast her electoral vote for Buchanan, Wm. A. Richardson, the Democratic candidate for Governor, was beaten by Wm. H. Bissell, the Republican candidate, by a majority of 4,697. Mr. Bissell was an able and accomplished gentleman, who had won popular fame as a soldier in the war with Mexico, and had represented the Belleville district in the Thirty-first, Thirty-second and Thirty-third Congresses.

With Mr. Bissell, there were elected John Wood, Lieutenant Governor; O. M. Hatch, Secretary of State; Jesse K. Dubois, Auditor of Public Accounts; James Miller, Treasurer, and Wm. H. Powell, Superintendent of Public Instruction. This was the first time in the history of Illinois that any person other than a Democrat had been chosen to fill a State office. Several times prior to this the Clay men or Whigs had taken up a Jackson man or Democrat and voted for him for Governor, against the person thought to be the favorite candidate of the leading men of the dominant party, notably among whom was John Reynolds, in 1830, who was elected over Wm. Kinney, then Lieutenant Governor. The election of Joseph Duncan in 1834 was another instance—Kinney being again a candidate. (See Ford's History.) Party lines between the Democrats and Whigs were not radically drawn in this State until about 1836, but the Whig party was always in a hopeless minority. The nearest the Whig party ever came to carrying the State was in the campaign between Harrison and Van Buren. Harrison received 45,537 votes, and Van Buren 47,476. Of the formation of the Republican party we shall speak more at length in the succeeding chapter.

Under Mr. Buchanan's administration the slave power became more and more aggressive. In fact, the slave power had dictated and dominated the legislation from the first Congress to the administration of Buchanan, in Whig as well as in Democratic administrations; and in 1852, when the Whig and Democratic parties adopted, in National conventions, platforms which were identical on the slavery question, then it was that that question seemed to absorb all others in the National legislature. The development of the country, the progress and happiness of its people, were lost sight of. Laws repugnant to the character and intelligence of the people of the free States had been passed from time to time, under the impudent threat of Southern senators and representatives that if they were not passed the South would dissolve the Union. But the most obnoxious and offensive measure was the Fugitive Slave Law, which compelled the citizens of the free States to turn out at the will or command of the United States marshals to aid in the arrest or return of slaves escaping from their masters into free territory.

And next to this was the assault upon Charles Sumner, a United States senator from the commonwealth of Massachusetts. He had been brutally and murderously assaulted in open day in the United States Senate by Preston L. Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, for simply expressing his political opinions in debate, and although Brooks was expelled from that body, his constituents promptly re-elected him, as an indorsement of the brutal act.

Not only was the legislation of the National government in the interest of slavery, but the Supreme Court was made to bow to the demands of the power behind it. We refer to the Dred Scott decision. This was rendered in December, 1856, in a case wherein a colored man, whose name was Dred Scott, had been taken, together with his wife and

two daughters, by his master, John F. A. Sanford, a resident of the State of Missouri, to Rock Island, Illinois, to reside. Illinois being a free State, these persons, therefore, became free the moment they were landed on her soil with the intention to remain as residents.

On the return of Sanford with Scott and his family to Missouri, Scott sued in the State court for his freedom, and believing that few of our readers will be able to call to mind the true character of this cause, and that they will be interested in knowing the full significance of the decision, we print the substance of it, as reported by Benjamin C. Howard, the official reporter. The case is thus stated by him in the published decisions of that court:

"This case was brought up, by writ of error from the Circuit Court of the United States for the district of Missouri. It was an action *vi et armis*, instituted in the circuit court by Scott against Sanford. Prior to the institution of the present suit, an action was brought by Scott for his freedom in the Circuit Court of St. Louis county (State court), where there was a verdict and judgment in his favor. On a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the State, the judgment below was reversed, and the case remanded to the Circuit Court, where it was continued to await the decision of the case now in question. The declaration of Scott contained three counts: one that Sanford had assaulted the plaintiff; one that he had assaulted Harriet Scott, his wife, and one that he had assaulted Eliza Scott and Lizzie, his children."

The close of the syllabus of the case, as reported in 19th Howard, and which gives the substance of the longest and most interesting opinion ever rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States, is as follows:

"The plaintiff himself acquired no title to freedom by being taken by his owner to Rock Island in Illinois, and brought back to Missouri. This court has heretofore decided that the status or condition of a person of African descent depended on the laws of the State in which he resided. It has been settled by the decisions by the highest court in Missouri, that by the laws of that State a slave

does not become entitled to his freedom where the owner takes him to reside in a State where slavery is not permitted, and afterwards brings him back to Missouri.

"Conclusion: It follows that it is apparent upon the record that the court below erred in its judgment in the plea in abatement, and also erred in giving judgment for the defendant when the exception shows that the plaintiff was not a citizen of the United States. And as the Circuit Court had no jurisdiction either in the case stated in the plea in abatement, or in the case stated in the exception, its judgment in favor of the defendant is erroneous and must be reversed."

At that time the Supreme Court of the United States was composed of Chief Justice Taney, Justices Nelson, Grier, Danniel, Campbell, Catron, Wayne, McLean, and Curtis. Chief Justice Taney delivered the opinion, and Justices McLean and Curtis were the only members of the court who dissented.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which had restricted slavery within the territory south of parallel $36^{\circ}30'$, and which opened up all the Territories to the spread of slavery, the brutal attempt to stifle free speech in the Senate of the United States, the extraordinary decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, and the effort of President Buchanan to force Kansas into the Union with a constitution which recognized slavery, were so palpably wrong in themselves, that the great body of the people in the North—Free Soilers, Native Americans, Whigs and Democrats—were one in their denunciation of the aggressive steps of the slave power, and they stood ready with their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor, to do that which would preserve the Government and the Union as they had been handed down to them by Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and all the patriot-fathers.

In that long and exciting debate in Congress over the legislation relating to the admission of Kansas into the Union, Stephen A. Douglas was the only Democratic

Senator, if we except George E. Pugh, of Ohio, who had the moral courage to oppose Buchanan's policy, and to Douglas' good name and great fame be it said he opposed it with manly courage, and with all the ability of his master mind, and because of this he was ostracised by the followers of the Administration, and its immense patronage was freely used in Illinois with the hope of destroying his power in his own State.

Such was the condition of National politics when we commence our history of the politics and politicians of Illinois, since which time the politics of Illinois have been the politics of the Nation.

CHAPTER II.

SLAVERY AGITATION.

Why a New Party was Necessary—Missouri Compromise of 1820—Compromise Measures of 1850—Repeal of the Missouri Compromise of 1820—Douglas Denied the Right of Free Speech in Chicago—Organization of the Republican Party—Three Branches of the Government Pro-Slavery—Growth of the Republican Party—Caucus at Williamsville—First Republican Convention at Cairo—First Republican Caucus at Metropolis.

WHY A NEW PARTY WAS NECESSARY.

The Republican party, which has had almost complete control of the governments of the State and Nation since 1861, was permanently organized in this State at Bloomington, May 29, 1856. Prior to that time the Democratic party had held, with the exception of a few brief intervals, the complete control of the government of the Nation since the formation of parties; and while the Whig party had maintained an organization in the State from 1836

to the dissolution of the party, yet it had never been able to dispute, successfully, the right of the Democratic party to control the affairs of the State, and in order that the reader may better understand the causes which led to the formation of the Republican party, brief reference is made to the history of the legislation of the National Government upon the slavery question. Slavery had been transmitted to the United States by the British Government, and although most all the early Fathers of the Republic were opposed to the institution, yet they were unable to eradicate it from a country whose declaration of independence had voiced the doctrine that all men were created equal, and slavery was thus left as a cancer upon the body politic, and remained the subject of bitter controversy between the people of the North and South. For years prior to 1820, when what is known as the Missouri Compromise was passed, the question had been assuming an important and alarming position in the public mind, and ever and anon threatened the dissolution of the Union. The States of the North had gotten rid of such negro slaves as they had originally possessed, and had enacted laws forbidding their citizens from owning or bringing within their limits, negroes for purposes of labor. The feeling, in these States, that slavery was sinful, had been gradually gaining ground, and there were many persons in the South who held the same view. Certain religious bodies in the country had distinctly expressed their belief that it was contrary to the teachings of Christianity to own slaves, and memorials had been presented to the Legislatures of some of the States, and to Congress, praying for the abolition of slavery. Though Congress did not hesitate to pass an Ordinance in 1787, dedicating the Northwestern Territory, of which Illinois was a part, to freedom, yet it steadily refused to comply with the demands of the petitions presented to it regarding the abolition of slavery

throughout the Nation. Article six of that Ordinance reads thus:

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided, always,* that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

The existence of slavery within the States was recognized and protected by the constitution, and Congress held that it had no right to interfere with the domestic relations of the States.

MISSOURI COMPROMISE OF 1820.

In February, 1819, the Territory of Missouri, which was formed out of a part of the Louisiana purchase, asked permission to form a constitution preparatory to being admitted into the Union as a State. When the bill for this purpose was presented to the House of Representatives on the 13th of February, Mr. Tallmadge, of New York, proposed to insert a clause providing "that the further introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and that all children born in said State after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years." The announcement of this amendment produced a great sensation in the House, and throughout the country. It was believed by the advocates of slavery that the resolutions of the House of Representatives of 1790, in reply to the first petition presented to it for the abolition of slavery, which declared the policy of the Government to be non-interference with slavery in the States, had settled the question of the powers of the Federal government respecting slavery. The bill continued to be the subject

of a long and angry debate in the House, and finally passed that body by a small majority as amended by Mr. Tallmadge, but it was defeated in the Senate.

When Congress re-assembled in December, 1819, the discussion as to the admission of Missouri was again renewed, and again the House passed the bill as amended by Mr. Tallmadge, but when it reached the Senate the clause prohibiting slavery was stricken out, and an amendment, offered by Senator Thomas, of Illinois, was substituted, which was in these words: "Section 8. *And be it further enacted,* That in all the territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited: *Provided, always,* that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid." The title of the bill was amended so as to agree with this section when it was sent to the House of Representatives for its concurrence. The House refused to accept the amendment of the Senate, and a committee of conference was appointed by both houses for the purpose of agreeing upon a bill acceptable to both sections of the country.

During the sitting of the conference committee, Thomas Jefferson, who was then living in retirement at Monticello, Virginia, and who was sincerely opposed to slavery, wrote a patriotic letter in opposition to the passage of the bill as amended by Mr. Thomas; he deprecated the thought of establishing a sectional line, and said the mere

suggestion of such a line sounded to him like a fire-bell at night, and that its consummation might sound the death-knell of the Union.

After weeks of bitter discussion before the committee of conference, the amendment offered by the Illinois Senator was adopted, and the bill as agreed upon by the committee passed the Senate March 2, 1820, by a vote of 27 ayes to 15 noes, when it was sent to the House for its concurrence. The bill passed that body on the same day by a vote of 134 ayes to 42 noes. Both the Illinois Senators, Edwards and Thomas, and the Representative, Mr. Cook, voted for the bill. (See the House and Senate Journals.)

After the passage of the bill, in a letter under date of April 13, 1820, addressed to Wm. Short, Mr. Jefferson said :

"I had laid down a law to myself, never to write, talk or even think of politics, to know nothing of public affairs, and therefore had ceased to read newspapers, yet the Missouri question aroused and filled me with alarm. I have been among the most sanguine in believing that our Union would be of long duration. I now doubt it much. My only comfort and confidence is that I shall not live to see this; and I envy not the present generation the glory of throwing away the fruits of their fathers' sacrifice of life and fortune, and of rendering desperate the experiment which was to decide ultimately whether man was capable of self-government." (See Volume 7 of Jefferson's Complete Works.)

Notwithstanding the compromise was introduced by Mr. Thomas, Benton tells us in his Thirty Years in the United States Senate, that its adoption was the work of the pro-slavery men.

The constitution under which Missouri applied for admission into the Union sanctioned slavery, and contained a clause which prohibited the Legislature from interfering with the question.

There was also a clause in it authorizing the Legislature to prohibit the emigration of free people of color into the State, and this clause was laid hold of in Congress to resist the admission of the State. It was treated as a breach of that clause in the Federal constitution which guarantees equal privileges in all the States to the citizens of every State, of which privileges the right of emigration was one; and free people of color being admitted to citizenship in some of the States, this prohibition of emigration was held to be a violation of that privilege in their persons. Here followed an equally angry discussion over the peculiar features of this constitution, and it did not end until a committee of conference of the two houses had met and agreed upon a resolution favoring the admission of the State upon the condition that her Legislature should first declare that the clause in the constitution relative to the colored emigration into the State should never be construed to authorize the passage of any act by which any citizen of any of the States of the Union should be excluded from the enjoyment of any privilege to which he may be entitled under the Constitution of the United States, and the President of the United States being furnished with a copy of said act, should, by proclamation, declare the State to be admitted. This resolution was passed in the House by a vote of 86 to 82, and in the Senate by a vote of 28 to 14.

The Legislature of Missouri complied with the requirements of this resolution, and on the 10th of August, 1821, President Monroe issued a proclamation declaring the admission of Missouri into the Union, in complete accordance with law.

In his last message to Congress, President Polk had recommended the extension of the line $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude to the Pacific, thus leaving it to the people

south of that line whether they would have slavery or not. This proposition was acceptable to the people of the South, but it did not meet with favor in the North.

COMPROMISE MEASURES OF 1850.

In 1849, when California applied to be admitted into the Union, with a constitution which prohibited slavery, the sectional controversy was again renewed, with alarming fury, and grave fears were entertained for the safety of the Union. Zachary Taylor was President, and while recognizing, in his first message, the gravity of the situation, and the danger which threatened the country from the sectional controversy, he expressed his determination to faithfully discharge his duties to the whole country, and recommended the admission of California, under the constitution her people had chosen; and advised that Utah and New Mexico be organized as Territories, with liberty to decide the question of slavery for themselves, when they were ready to enter the Union as States.

Regarding the preservation of the Union, President Taylor said:

"But attachment to the union of the States should be habitually fostered in every American heart. For more than half a century, during which kingdoms and empires have fallen, this Union has stood unshaken. The patriots who formed it have long since descended to the grave; yet still it remains the proudest monument to their memory, and the object of affection and admiration with every one worthy to bear the American name. In my judgment its dissolution would be the greatest of calamities, and to avert that should be the study of every American. Upon its preservation must depend our own happiness and that of countless generations to come. Whatever dangers may threaten it, I shall stand by it, and maintain it in its integrity, to the full extent of the obligations imposed and the power conferred upon me by the Constitution."

On the question of the admission of California, he was equally frank:

"No civil government having been provided by Congress for California, the people of that Territory, impelled by the necessities of their political condition, recently met in convention, for the purpose of forming a constitution and State government, which the latest advices give me reason to suppose has been accomplished; and it is believed they will shortly apply for the admission of California into the Union as a sovereign State. Should such be the case, and should their constitution be conformable to the requisitions of the Constitution of the United States, I recommend their application to the favorable consideration of Congress."

The issue, as then made up between the North and the South, was this: The South opposed the admission of California as a free State, and demanded the better execution of the fugitive slave law; the North was opposed to the admission of any more slave States; demanded the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and was unwilling for the execution of the fugitive slave law within the Northern States. These questions occupied the attention of Congress almost exclusively, and the excitement permeated the entire Union, and repeated threats came from Southern Senators and Representatives that if the demands of the South were not acceded to, the Southern States would withdraw from the Union; and the situation was indeed alarming, when, on the 29th of January, 1850, Henry Clay introduced ten resolutions in the Senate, as a compromise, which provided for the admission of California as a free State; the organization of the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, without reference to slavery; the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the enactment by Congress of a more stringent and effective law for the rendition of fugitive slaves.

The resolution of Mr. Clay, which related to a compromise on the slavery question, was as follows:

"Resolved, That as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by the United States from the Republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient for Congress to provide by law either for its introduction into or exclusion from any part of the said territory; and that appropriate Territorial governments ought to be established by Congress in all of the said territory, not assigned as the boundaries of the proposed State of California, without the adoption of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery."

Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, spoke thus in opposition to the passage of the resolution:

"But, sir, we are called on to receive this as a measure of compromise! Is a measure in which we of the minority are to receive nothing, a measure of compromise? I look upon it as but a modest mode of taking that, the claim to which has been more boldly asserted by others; and that I may be understood upon this question, and that my position may go forth to the country in the same columns that convey the sentiments of the Senator from Kentucky, I here assert that never will I take less than the Missouri Compromise line, extended to the Pacific ocean, with the specific recognition of the right to hold slaves in the territory below that line; and that, before such Territories are admitted into the Union as States, slaves may be taken there from any of the United States, at the option of their owners."

Mr. Clay, with no less candor or courage, replied to Mr. Davis in these words:

"I am extremely sorry to hear the Senator from Mississippi say that he requires, first, the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, and also that he is not satisfied with that, but requires, if I understood him correctly, a positive provision for the admission of slavery south of that line. And, now, sir, coming from a slave State, as I do, I owe it to myself, I owe it to truth, I owe it to the subject, to say that no earthly power could induce me to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of slavery where it had not before existed, either South or North of that line. Coming, as I do, from a slave State, it is my solemn, deliberate and well-matured determination that no power, no earthly power, shall compel me to vote for the positive introduction of slavery either south or north of that line. Sir, while you

reproach, and justly, too, our British ancestors for the introduction of this institution upon the continent of America, I am, for one, unwilling that the posterity of the present inhabitants of California and of New Mexico shall reproach us for doing just what we reproach Great Britain for doing to us. If the citizens of those Territories choose to establish slavery, and if they come here with constitutions establishing slavery, I am for admitting them with such provisions in their constitutions; but then it will be their own work, and not ours, and their posterity will have to reproach them, and not us, for forming constitutions allowing the institution of slavery to exist among them. These are my views, sir, and I choose to express them; and I care not how extensively or universally they are known."

Mr. Calhoun was an invalid at the time the bill was presented for the admission of California, and he brought into the Senate a written speech of great length and carefully prepared, which he was too weak to deliver, and upon his request it was allowed to be read by his friend, Senator Mason, from Virginia. We give place to the following extract, as showing the views of the great Senator upon the slavery question, as it presented itself to his mind:

"I have, Senators, believed from the first that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion. Entertaining this opinion, I have, on all proper occasions, endeavored to call the attention of each of the two great parties which divide the country, to adopt some measure to prevent so great a disaster, but without success. The agitation has been permitted to proceed, with almost no attempt to resist it, until it has reached a period when it can no longer be disguised or denied that the Union is in danger. You have thus had forced upon you the greatest and the gravest question that can ever come under your consideration. How can the Union be preserved? . . . It is time, Senators, that there should be an open and manly avowal on all sides, as to what is intended to be done. If the question is not now settled, it is uncertain whether it ever can hereafter be; and we, as the representatives of the States of this Union, regarded as governments, should come to a distinct understanding as to our respective views, in order to ascertain whether the great

questions at issue can be settled or not. If you, who represent the stronger portion, cannot agree to settle them on the broad principle of justice and duty, say so; and let the States we both represent agree to separate and part in peace. If you are unwilling that we should part in peace, tell us so, and we shall know what to do, when you reduce the question to submission or resistance. If you remain silent, you will compel us to infer by your acts what you intend. In that case, California will become the *test* question. If you admit her under all the difficulties that oppose her admission, you compel us to infer that you intend to exclude us from the whole of the acquired Territories, with the intention of destroying irretrievably the equilibrium between the two sections. We would be blind not to perceive, in that case, that your real objects are power and aggrandizement, and infatuated not to act accordingly."

Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, was an earnest advocate of the compromise measure, and made a speech in support of it, which required three days for its delivery, and which produced a profound sensation throughout the country, and exercised a powerful influence in securing the passage of the bill.

During the pendency of the discussion of this bill, President Taylor died, and Vice-President Fillmore became President, which, if possible, added new alarm to the situation.

Calhoun died before the bill admitting California came to a vote. It passed the Senate by a vote of 34 ayes to 18 noes. Ten of the Senators who voted against it prepared an elaborate protest against the passage of the bill, and asked that it be spread of record upon the journal, the pith of which was in these words:

"But, lastly, we dissent from this bill, and solemnly protest against its passage, because, in sanctioning measures so contrary to former precedent, to obvious policy, to the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, for the purpose of excluding the slave-holding States from the Territory thus to be erected into a State, this government in effect declares, that the exclusion of

slavery from the territory of the United States is an object so high and important as to justify a disregard not only of all the principles of sound policy, but also of the Constitution itself. Against this conclusion we must now and forever protest, as it is destructive of the safety and liberties of those whose rights have been committed to our care, fatal to the peace and *equality* of the States which we represent, and must lead, if persisted in, to the *dissolution* of that confederacy, in which the slave-holding States have never sought more than *equality*, and in which they will not be content to *remain* with less."

The Senate declined to receive the protest, and the bill was sent to the House, where it was promptly passed, and receiving the signature of President Fillmore, California was admitted into the Union.

All this clamor about a dissolution of the Union grew out of the fact that the people of California had framed a constitution which excluded from her territory the barbarism of African slavery. This was the height and depth, the length and breadth of her offending.

The other features of Mr. Clay's resolutions of compromise continued to be the subject of debate in both branches of Congress, and, in the latter part of September, were formulated into bills which passed both houses, and receiving the approval of the President, became the law of the land. (See Benton's *Thirty Years in the United States Senate*.)

REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE OF 1820.

This restored quiet to the country for a short time, and a short time only; for in December, 1852, when Mr. Hall, of Missouri, introduced into the House of Representatives a bill to organize the Territory of Platte out of the vast territory which was then defined as the Platte Country, the sectional fires were again rekindled. The bill was referred to the Committee on Territories, which, in February, 1853, reported a bill organizing the Territory of Nebraska. Notwithstanding the Missouri compromise had

restricted that country to free labor, the Southern members hoped to obtain a footing for slavery in at least a part of it; and on the 16th of January, 1854, Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, gave notice that whenever the Nebraska bill should be called up he would move the following amendment: "That so much of the eighth section of an act approved March 6, 1820, entitled 'An act to authorize the people of the Missouri Territory to form a constitution and State government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to prohibit slavery in certain Territories,' as declares that, 'in all the territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be forever prohibited,' shall not be so construed as to apply to the Territory contemplated by this act, or to any other Territory of the United States; but that the citizens of the several States or Territories shall be at liberty to take and hold their slaves within any of the Territories or States to be formed therefrom, as if the said act, entitled as aforesaid, had never been passed."

This announcement startled the people of the North, for the amendment proposed a repudiation of the Missouri Compromise, without seeking its repeal.

Senator Douglas, Chairman of the Committee on Territories, on the 23d of January, 1854, reported a bill, which provided for the organization of the Platte country into two Territories. The southern portion, which lay directly west of Missouri, stretching to the Rocky Mountains on the west, and extending from the thirty-seventh to the fortieth parallel of north latitude, was to be organized into a distinct Territory, to be called Kansas. The remainder was to be called Nebraska, having the line of

43° 30' for its northern boundary, and Mr. Douglas incorporated in the bill the main features of Mr. Dixon's amendment. Section 21 provided, "That, in order to avoid misconstruction, it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of this act, so far as the question of slavery is concerned, to carry into practical operation the following propositions and principles, established by the compromise measures of one thousand eight hundred and fifty, to-wit:

"First. That all questions pertaining to slavery in the Territories, and in the new States to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, through their appropriate representatives.

"Second. That all cases involving title to slaves, and questions of personal freedom, are referred to the adjudication of the local tribunals, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Third. That the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States, in respect to fugitives from service, are to be carried into faithful execution in all the 'organized Territories' the same as in the States."

The section of the bill which prescribed the qualifications and mode of election of a Delegate from each of the Territories, was as follows: "The Constitution, and all laws of the United States which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory as elsewhere in the United States, except the section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures, and is declared inoperative."

The bill passed the Senate by a vote of 37 ayes to 14 noes, and the House by 113 ayes to 100 noes; and on the 31st of May, 1854, received the approval of President Pierce. (See House and Senate Journals, 1854.)

By the passage of this bill all the Territories were opened up to the introduction of slavery, and the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise renewed the sectional strife.

RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH DENIED TO DOUGLAS.

It would seem strange that to the Senators of the free State of Illinois should be left the task of furnishing the legislation which was to extend the boundary of slavery, or gratify the extravagant demands of the pro-slavery men of the South. No special notice seems ever to have been taken in Illinois of the amendment offered by Senator Thomas, which formed the basis of the Missouri Compromise, but Douglas was denounced all through the North by the anti-slavery men—Democrats as well as Whigs—and was denied the right of free speech on his return to his home in Chicago, in August, 1854. He had caused the announcement to be made previous to his arrival that he would address his fellow-citizens at North Market Hall, in vindication of his course in Congress on the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and when the hour had arrived for the meeting, thousands upon thousands of persons thronged the place with no other motive than to prevent him from speaking, and for four long hours did he stand facing the mob, and at every lull of the tumult venturing to address them, but at last he was forced to leave the stand without making himself heard, intelligibly, even for a moment.

During the discussion which preceded the passage of this bill, emigrant aid societies had been formed in the New England States for the purpose of aiding emigration to Kansas, and in view of the fact that emigration from the Southern States was slow, it became apparent to the pro-slavery men that if something was not done to counteract the Northern emigration, Kansas would become a free State, and in order to do this hundreds of pro-slavery

men from Missouri were sent over to take charge of the affairs of the Territory. On their arrival, formal notice was given to the free-State men to leave the Territory and never return to it, but this they declined to do, and the result was that an intestine war prevailed for a long time, during which many free-State men were murdered in cold blood, while others were driven out of the Territory with the loss of their property, many of whom were from Illinois; and as a climax to these great wrongs, the pro-slavery men framed, through fraud, a constitution recognizing slavery, and attempted, by the aid of the Administration of President Buchanan, to force Kansas into the Union under that constitution, and here the power and greatness of Douglas shone forth in their brightest splendor, for to his masterly opposition, more than to all other causes, was this outrage upon the character and intelligence of the people of Kansas averted, and those who had denounced him for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise now applauded him with a fervor that was as boundless as the denunciation had been.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Here is the state of facts which impelled anti-slavery Democrats, anti-slavery Whigs and anti-slavery Americans to form a new party, with the hope of arresting the aggressive steps of the slave power in the National Government; and it was this that moved the anti-slavery men of Illinois to aid in the organization of the new party, and one of the first meetings which took place in the State, for this purpose, was held in Jacksonville in 1853, at which there were only seven persons, namely, John O. King, Elihu Wolcott, Charles Chappel, James Johnson, John Mathers, William Harrison and Anderson Foreman. A resolution was adopted pledging themselves to use all honorable means to prevent the further spread of slavery. In 1854, similar meetings were held in various counties of

Central and Northern Illinois, and a State convention met at Springfield in October, and nominated John E. McClun, of McLean county, as a candidate for Treasurer, but the name of James Miller, of the same county, was afterwards substituted, and he made the race as an anti-Kansas-Nebraska man against John Moore, the Democratic candidate, but he failed of election.

The anti-slavery men were, for a long time, at a loss for an acceptable name for a new party. The first suggestion of Republican party, was made at the convention of Whigs held in Bloomington, in 1854, which nominated Jesse O. Norton for Congress, by Jesse Lynch, who introduced a resolution, which was seconded by John Cusey, which proposed to call the new organization the Republican party.

The anti-slavery movement continued to grow in magnitude, and in the spring of 1856 the sentiment was ripe for the organization of a new party, and at the suggestion of the Jacksonville *Journal*, then a weekly newspaper, edited by Paul Selby, the present editor of the *Illinois State Journal*, a meeting of the anti-Kansas-Nebraska editors was held at Decatur, February 22, for the purpose of outlining a political policy. There were present at this meeting V. Y. Ralston, Quincy *Whig*; C. H. Ray, Chicago *Tribune*; O. P. Wharton, Rock Island *Advertiser*; T. J. Pickett, Peoria *Republican*; George Schneider, Chicago *Staats-Zeitung*; Charles Faxon, Princeton *Post*; A. N. Ford, Lacon *Gazette*; B. F. Shaw, Dixon *Telegraph*; W. J. Usrey, Decatur *Chronicle*; Paul Selby, Jacksonville *Journal*. A resolution was adopted recommending that a State convention be called to meet at Bloomington, May 29, and a committee consisting of one from each Congressional district, and two from the State at large, was selected for that purpose. The committee was as follows: W. B. Ogden, Chicago; S. M. Church, Rockford; G. D. A. Parks,

Joliet; T. J. Pickett, Peoria; E. A. Dudley, Quincy; Wm. H. Herndon, Springfield; R. J. Oglesby, Decatur; Joseph Gillespie, Edwardsville; D. L. Phillips, Jonesboro, and Gustavus Kœrner and Ira O. Wilkinson, from the State at large.

Agreeably to the recommendation of the editorial convention, a State convention met at Bloomington, May 29. Many of the counties were unrepresented, but this did not deter the convention from organizing, and John M. Palmer was chosen permanent President, with J. A. Davis, of Stephenson, William Ross, of Pike, James McKee, of Cook, J. H. Bryant, of Bureau, A. C. Harding, of Warren, Richard Yates, of Morgan, H. O. Jones, of Piatt, D. L. Phillips, of Union, George Smith, of Madison, J. H. Marshall, of Coles, J. M. Ruggles, of Mason, G. D. A. Parks, of Will, and John Clark, of Schuyler, as Vice-Presidents. H. S. Baker, of Madison, C. L. Wilson, of Cook, John Tilson, of Adams, W. Bushnell, of LaSalle, and B. J. F. Hanna, of Randolph, were elected Secretaries.

After the usual forms and ceremonies, William H. Bissell, of St. Clair, was nominated for Governor; Francis A. Hoffman, for Lieut.-Governor, but subsequently the name of John Wood, of Adams, was substituted; O. M. Hatch, of Pike, for Secretary of State; Jesse K. Dubois, of Lawrence, for Auditor; James Miller, of McLean, for Treasurer, and W. H. Powell, of Peoria, for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

J. C. Conkling, of Sangamon, Asahel Gridley, of McLean, B. C. Cook, of LaSalle, C. H. Ray and N. B. Judd, of Cook, were constituted the State Central Committee.

Abraham Lincoln, O. H. Browning, Richard Yates, John M. Palmer, Owen Lovejoy, Lyman Trumbull and John Wentworth, were the minds which directed the destiny of the new party, and its platform was so framed as to have no uncertain sound regarding the further extension of

slavery, nor was there any want of devotion to the Union of the States. Here are the resolutions which related to the National questions :

"Resolved, That we hold, in accordance with the opinions and practices of all the great statesmen of all parties for the first sixty years of the administration of the government, that under the constitution Congress possesses the power to prohibit slavery in the Territories; and that whilst we will maintain all constitutional rights of the South, we also hold that justice, humanity, the principles of freedom, as expressed in our Declaration of Independence and our National Constitution, and the purity and perpetuity of our government, require that that power should be exerted to prevent the extension of slavery into Territories heretofore free.

"Resolved, That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was unwise, unjust and injurious; an open and aggravated violation of the plighted faith of the States, and that the attempt of the present administration to force slavery into Kansas against the known wishes of the legal voters of that Territory, is an arbitrary and tyrannous violation of the rights of the people to govern themselves, and that we will strive by all constitutional means to secure to Kansas and Nebraska the legal guaranty against slavery of which they were deprived at the cost of the violation of the plighted faith of the Nation.

"Resolved, That we are devoted to the Union, and will, to the last extremity, defend it against the efforts now being made by the disunionists of this administration to compass its dissolution, and that we will support the Constitution of the United States in all its provisions, regarding it as the sacred bond of our union, and the only safeguard for the preservation of the rights of ourselves and our posterity."

Upon this platform, as the fundamental principles of the new party, its standard bearers went forth to battle. It was the Presidential year. James Buchanan was the Democratic candidate for President; Millard Fillmore the Native American; and June 17, the anti-slavery Democrats and Whigs of the North met at Philadelphia and organized the National Republican party, thus adopting the name which had been assumed by the new party in Illinois, and nominated John C. Fremont for President. Thus stimulated,

the Republican party of Illinois went boldly forward to secure the election of their State ticket, and while Buchanan carried the State by a plurality of 9,150 over Fremont, the Republican State ticket was elected throughout. Bissell's majority over W. A. Richardson, the Democratic candidate for Governor, was 4,697.

THREE BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT PRO-SLAVERY.

It is worthy of remark here, that when the Republican party carried the Presidential election in 1860, the pro-slavery men held control of three branches of the National Government—both houses of Congress and the Supreme Court—and added to this was a voluntary avowal by the incoming President that their domestic institutions would in no wise be disturbed by the change made in political rulers. Notwithstanding this, they abandoned their places in Congress and attempted to establish an independent government with slavery as its chief corner stone, and when the government at Washington refused to acknowledge their independence, they made war on the Union, the result of which is known to all who read history.

PARTY AFFILIATIONS.

More than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the formation of the Republican party, and radical changes have taken place in the governments of the State and Nation, and with the change of issues a corresponding change in political affiliation. Many of the great leaders who took a prominent part in the formation of the Republican party are numbered with the silent dead. Some of those who gave it character, courage and power in its infancy are now affiliating with the Democratic party, and many of the Democratic leaders who were then pro-slavery in sentiment, now make their political home with the Republican party.

GROWTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republican party had a very small beginning in Sangamon county. When the Whig party dissolved, its members became Native Americans or Democrats. One of the first Republican caucuses held in Sangamon county was at Williamsville, in the spring of 1856, and the only Republicans present were S. H. Jones, more familiarly known as Sam Jones, and Jacob Beck. Mr. Jones occupied the chair, and Mr. Beck made the speech of the occasion. The meeting had been called at their instance, and although the house was full of spectators, there was no one outside of these gentlemen who dared to announce their adhesion to the new party. Jones was made the delegate to the county convention which met at Springfield, in the law office of Lincoln & Herndon. There were only about a dozen, in all, present. Lincoln was the leading spirit, and pointed out the way to victory. At the following November election, Williamsville cast fifteen votes for John C. Fremont; and in 1860, there were some three hundred votes polled for Garfield, and the Republican majority was seventy-five, which shows that the seed of the new party was sown in good ground.

The first Republican convention held in Cairo was in the spring of 1858. This was called to appoint delegates to the State convention at Springfield, which nominated Abraham Lincoln for United States Senator, in opposition to Douglas. The convention had been thoroughly advertised, and the house was well filled with people anxious to see how the new anti-slavery party progressed. Republicanism was by no means popular in that section at that time; and there were just four representatives in the convention, namely, D. J. Baker, John C. White, James Summerville and C. C. Brown, now a member of the well-known law firm of Stuart, Edwards & Brown. White was elected chairman and Baker secretary. While the

committee on resolutions, which consisted of Summerville and Baker, was out, Mr. Brown entertained the audience in a speech of some length, on the purpose and hope of the party; and next day the *Chicago Tribune* appeared with an extended account of the convention, entitling it the "First Gun from Egypt."

In 1859, when the Republican party was in its very infancy in Southern Illinois, William H. Green, then a Representative in the Twenty-first General Assembly, invited to his office, in Metropolis, a few prominent Democrats, for the purpose of consulting as to the best interests of the party. "Gentlemen," said he, "you may think this meeting unnecessary, or it may look to you like a farce, but I tell you now that the time is coming when the Democratic party of this State will have to thoroughly organize, if they wish to hold political supremacy; and I may say, that even in this county the Republican party will test our strength to the utmost." The Republicans of that county were not long in working out a literal fulfillment of Mr. Green's prediction. The first Republican organization in Massac county took place at Metropolis, in the spring of 1860. There were just five persons present—W. R. Brown, R. A. Peter, L. P. Stalcup, Tillman Robey and Thos. Moore. Mr. Brown was made chairman and Mr. Stalcup secretary. The vote in that county at the Presidential election was 940 for Douglas and Johnson, 122 for Lincoln and Hamlin, 82 for Bell and Everett, and 4 for Breckinridge and Lane. But how marvelous the revolution in public sentiment. Massac county now gives a Republican majority, ranging from 300 to 700, and the same can be said of many other counties in Southern Illinois, the stronghold of Democracy.

CHAPTER III.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1856.

First Republican State Ticket—Democratic—Native American—Republican Success—Aggregate Vote for State Officers—Members of Congress—Electoral Tickets.

The political contest opened up early in the year; that being the year of the Presidential election, the State conventions were necessarily early. There were three parties to claim the suffrages of the people. The Democrats held their convention at Springfield, May 1; the Native Americans, at the same place, May 6, and the Republicans at Bloomington, May 29, when this party was first organized of which we speak at length in the preceding chapter.

The State tickets, for the most part, were made up of able, eminent men, and on the electoral tickets the reader will observe such names as Abraham Lincoln, Henry P. H. Bromwell, David L. Phillips, John A. Logan, Orlando B. Ficklin, Wm. A. J. Sparks, Joseph Gillespie, Shelby M. Cullom and Wm. H. Parrish.

Heretofore the Democratic party had encountered little or no opposition in the State or Presidential elections, but the formation of the Republican party, which was composed largely of anti-slavery Democrats, had induced the belief that the party was in danger of losing its power in the State, and the campaign was therefore the more active and earnest on their part, and their activity created a corresponding industry on the part of the other parties, and the result was, that for five months the people in all

parts of the State were kept in attendance night and day upon meetings of one or the other of the parties, and agreeably to the fears of far-seeing Democrats, the Democratic party lost the State election, notwithstanding its candidate for President carried it by a plurality of 9,150 over Fremont, while the Republican State ticket was elected throughout by a plurality over the Democratic ticket ranging from 4,697, to 8,191 and the Republican candidate for Treasurer had a majority of 20,213 over his Democratic competitor.

The following is the aggregate vote for State officers, members of Congress, and Presidential electors:

GOVERNOR.

Wm. H. Bissell, R.....	111,466
Wm. A. Richardson, D.....	106,769
Buckner S. Morris, N. A.....	19,088

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

John Wood, R.....	110,603
R. J. Hamilton, D.....	104,206
Parmenus Bond, N. A.....	19,326

SECRETARY OF STATE.

O. M. Hatch, R.....	115,891
Wm. H. Snyder, D.....	106,700
Wm. H. Young, N. A.....	18,992

AUDITOR.

Jesse K. Dubois, R.....	109,317
Samuel K. Casey, D.....	106,286
Hiram Barber, N. A.....	20,651

TREASURER.

James Miller, R.....	127,715
John Moore, D.....	107,502

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Wm. H. Powell, R.....	108,584
John H. St. Matthew, D.....	105,369
Ezra Jenkins, N. A.....	20,578

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

Elihu B. Washburne, R.....	18,070
Richard S. Malony, D.....	6,227
B. D. Eastman, N. A.....	251

SECOND DISTRICT.

John F. Farnsworth, R.....	21,518
John Van Nortwick, D.....	9,814
B. F. James, N. A.....	685

THIRD DISTRICT.

Owen Lovejoy, R.....	19,068
Uri Osgood, D.....	13,007

FOURTH DISTRICT.

Wm. Pitt Kellogg, R	16,175
Jas. W. Davidson, D.....	14,474
A. H. Griffith, N. A.....	987

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Jackson Grimshaw, R.....	10,294
Isaac N. Morris, D.....	12,059
James S. Irwin, N. A.....	109

SIXTH DISTRICT.

John Williams, R.....	12,077
Thomas L. Harris, D.....	14,196

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Henry P. H. Bromwell, R.....	9,878
Aaron Shaw, D.....	12,994

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

James D. Lansing, R.....	7,512
Robert Smith, D.....	11,299

NINTH DISTRICT.

Benjamin L. Wiley, R.....	3,419
Samuel S. Marshall, D.....	15,968

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS—FREMONT.

Abraham Lincoln.....	}	*96,278
Frederick Hecker.....		
Elijah P. Terry		
Jerome J. Beardsley.....		
William Fithian.....		
T. Judson Hale.....		
Abraham Jonas.....		
Wm. H. Herndon.....		
Henry P. H. Bromwell.....		
Friend S. Rutherford.....		
David L. Phillips.....		

BUCHANAN.

Augustus M. Herrington.....	}	*105,528
Chas. H. Constable.....		
Merritt L. Joslyn.....		
Hugh Maher.....		
Milton T. Peters.....		
Robert Holloway.....		
John P. Richmond.....		
Samuel W. Moulton.....		
Orlando B. Ficklin.....		
Wm. A. J. Sparks.....		
John A. Logan.....		

FILLMORE.

Joseph Gillespie.....	}	*37,531
Wm. N. Danenhower.....		
Orvil Miller, Jr.....		
Levi D. Boone.....		
Josiah Snow.....		
John Durham.....		
James Irwin.....		
Shelby M. Cullom.....		
John Coffer.....		
Joseph H. Sloss.....		
Wm. H. Parrish.....		

*The records at the office of the Secretary of State show only these figures, and it is presumed that they represent the highest number of votes cast for the respective electoral tickets.

CHAPTER IV.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1857.

Governor—William H. Bissell.

Lieutenant-Governor—John Wood.

Secretary of State—O. M. Hatch.

Auditor of Public Accounts—Jesse K. Dubois.

Treasurer—William Butler.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—Wm. H. Powell.

TWENTIETH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Twentieth General Assembly convened January 5, and consisted of the following members:

SENATE.

Norman B. Judd, Cook.	L. E. Worcester, Greene.
George Gage, McHenry.	C. W. Vanderen, Sangamon.
Waite Talcott, Winnebago.	Joel S. Post, Macon.
J. H. Addams, Stephenson.	Sam'l W. Fuller, Tazewell.
Augustus Adams, Kane.	Wm. D. Watson, Coles.
G. D. A. Parks, Will.	Mortimer O'Kean, Jasper.
B. C. Cook, LaSalle.	Silas L. Bryan, Marion.
J. D. Arnold, Peoria.	Joseph Gillespie, Madison.
T. J. Henderson, Stark.	Wm. H. Underwood, St.Clair.
Wm. C. Goudy, Fulton.	Sam'l H. Martin, White.
Hiram Rose, Henderson.	E. C. Coffey, Washington.
Wm. H. Carlin, Adams.	A. J. Kuykendall, Johnson.
Hugh L. Sutphin, Pike.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

John Dougherty, Union.	E. C. Ingersoll, Gallatin.
Wesley Sloan, Pope.	John A. Logan, Jackson.
Thomas Jones, Johnson.	Jas. H. Watt, Randolph.

H. S. Osborn, Washington.	Samuel Christy, Cass.
John A. Wilson, Hamilton.	A. W. Morgan, Logan.
W. B. Anderson, Jefferson.	Jerome R. Gorin, Macon.
John E. Whiting, White.	Oliver L. Davis, Vermilion.
Charles P. Burns, Wayne.	J. H. Wickizer, McLean.
Wm. R. Morrison, Monroe.	Daniel Trail, Tazewell.
Vital Jarrot, St. Clair.	A. V. T. Gilbert, Warren.
Wm. W. Roman, St. Clair.	M. Shallenberger, Stark.
Wm. A. J. Sparks, Clinton.	John T. Lindsey, Peoria.
Lewis Ricks, Madison.	Robert Boal, Marshall.
Aaron P. Mason, Madison.	Elmer Baldwin, LaSalle.
Daniel Gregory, Fayette.	Jas. N. Reading, Grundy.
F. D. Preston, Richland.	John M. Crothers, Kendall.
Isaac Wilkins, Crawford.	Truman W. Smith, Will.
Nathan Willard, Clark.	Franklin Blades, Iroquois.
S. W. Moulton, Shelby.	W. A. Chatfield, Kankakee.
Calvin Goudy, Christian.	David M. Kelsey, DeKalb.
B. T. Burke, Macoupin.	Wm. R. Parker, Kane.
Wright Casey, Jersey.	Geo. W. Radcliffe, Bureau.
John W. Huitt, Greene.	H. G. Little, Henry.
Sam'l Connelly, Edgar.	John V. Eustace, Lee.
Jas. E. Wyche, Coles.	Dan'l J. Pinckney, Ogle.
Jas. J. Megredy, Sangamon.	C. B. Denio, JoDaviess.
S. M. Cullom, Sangamon.	Rollin Wheeler, Carroll.
Cyrus Epler, Morgan,	John A. Davis, Stephenson.
E. B. Hitt, Scott.	Wm. Lathrop, Winnebago.
John L. Grimes, Pike.	L. S. Church, McHenry.
King Kerley, Brown.	L. W. Lawrence, Boone.
Samuel Holmes, Adams.	W. M. Burbank, Lake.
M. M. Bane, Adams.	John H. Dunham, Cook.
L. D. Erwin, Schuyler.	George W. Morris, Cook.
Wm. Tyner, Hancock.	Isaac N. Arnold, Cook.
George Hire, McDonough.	A. F. C. Mueller, Cook.
Joseph Dyckes, Fulton.	David H. Frisbie, Knox.
James H. Stipp, Fulton.	

The Democrats had a majority in both houses. Lieut. Gov. John Wood was the presiding officer of the Senate, and Ben. Bond was elected Secretary over E. T. Bridges, by a vote of 13 to 10.

Samuel Holmes was elected Speaker of the House over Isaac N. Arnold, by a vote of 36 to 28, and Charles Lieb was elected Clerk over E. T. Bridges, by a vote of 38 to 29.

Of the prominent men, or those to attain prominence, of the two houses, there were: Judd, Cook, Henderson, Bryan, Gillespie, Underwood, Kuykendall, Dougherty, Sloan, Ingersoll, Logan, Anderson, Morrison, Sparks, Moulton, Cullom, Epler, O. L. Davis, Blades, Lathrop, Isaac N. Arnold.

The message of Mr. Matteson, the retiring Governor, was submitted to the two houses on the 6th of January. Referring to the condition of the people, he said:

"Even in the midst of adverse elements, the hand of abundance has been opened upon the harvests of the husbandman. The firesides of the humble have been protected and happy, and everywhere throughout the State labor is reaping a rich reward."

"With these sentiments, and a deep sense of thankfulness towards a generous people for the confidence so freely extended, I am now about to surrender, with cheerfulness, to my successor and to you, the trusts which have engaged my attention for the last four years. I do this the more cheerfully because I recognize in you and my successor agents appointed by the people to receive them, and eminently qualified to keep and discharge them faithfully. I sunder the last official connections with her councils with emotions of no ordinary character. Having very great confidence in the patriotism and capacity of the distinguished individual elected to become my successor, I invoke for you and him harmony in council and patriotism of purpose."

The exhibit relating to the State debt made in his message showed that there had been paid during Mr. Matteson's administration, of principal and interest, \$7,079,198.42, leaving a debt of \$12,834,144.85.

The revenue of the Illinois and Michigan Canal was estimated at \$150,000 for the year 1857.

In closing his message, Mr. Matteson said:

"I lay down the cares of office with cheerfulness, and surrender the responsible interests of the State into the hands of my successor and yourselves, with the prayer upon my heart that her progress may continue, and her people, for a long time in the future, live in the enjoyment of republican freedom, prosperity and happiness."

Gov. Matteson's administration had been eminently popular, the people had become prosperous and happy, and the State debt had been placed in course of ultimate and easy extinction.

Owing to the physical disability of Gov. Bissell, caused by an attack of paralysis, the two houses repaired to the Executive Mansion on the 12th of January, and in their presence he took the oath of office, and at his request his message was read to the two houses on the same day by I. R. Diller. Mr. Bissell recommended the erection of a new penitentiary; the revision of the school law; friendly legislation in the interest of the Illinois Central Railroad, and paid a fitting compliment to the men who had been foremost in the inception of that great enterprise, in these words:

"It is but reasonable, perhaps, that I should here avail myself of the opportunity of distinguishing certain individuals who were prominent in the inception of this great enterprise. To Morris Ketchum, George Griswold, David A. Neal and Jonathan Sturges, are we mainly indebted for the successful carrying out of this great project. Mr. Ketchum, especially, was as active as he was efficient in organizing the company, and in devising ways and means for the prosecution of the work. In these things he was ably sustained by the other gentlemen named. And on more than one occasion, when the prospects of the enterprise were shrouded in gloom and doubt, and when nothing but the most bold and skillful policy could have saved it, these gentlemen risked their own private means to an extent which, had the enterprise failed, would have involved some of them, at least, in irretrievable ruin. I take pleasure, therefore, in placing these gentlemen before the State in the light which I know is proper to them, that our people in future may never forget to whom they are mostly indebted for the great work of the Central Railroad."

The agitation of the slavery question was then the subject which occupied the attention of the people of the State more than all others, and Mr. Bissell, having been elected on the Republican ticket as an anti-Nebraska Democrat, alluded to the question in these terms:

"The question of the extension of slavery into our new National territory, although not forming any part of State politics, was, nevertheless, so prominent a feature in the late canvass, as to create the expectation, perhaps, that I should, on this occasion, say something concerning it.

"Up to the time of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, I had ever considered the existence of slavery within the United States as an anomaly in our republican system, tolerated by a necessity springing from the actual presence of the institution among us when our Constitution was adopted.

"The provisions in the Constitution for a slave basis of representation, and for the reclamation of fugitives from labor, I had supposed, and still suppose, were admitted there upon that necessity. And that such were also the views of a vast majority of the American people, both North and South, I had, until the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, never doubted.

"But the introduction, progress and passage of that measure, together with the course of argument made to sustain it, forced me reluctantly to the conclusion that, if finally successful, slavery is no longer to be considered or treated as anomalous in our system, but is rather, thenceforward, to be a leading and favorite element of society, to be politically recognized as such, and to which all else must bend and conform. This conclusion is strengthened, not a little, by the subsequent administration of the measure, in the same hands which originated and matured it. Considering that we are intelligent people, living in an enlightened age, and professing the peaceful doctrines of Christianity, and a love of liberty above all things earthly, it may well be doubted whether, when the world's history shall have been written to its close, it will contain a more extraordinary page than that which shall record the history of Kansas in 1855 and 1856.

"Forced to the conclusion stated, a large portion of our fellow-citizens, myself among them, have resisted the consummation as we best could; and believing that not the fate of the negro alone, but the liberties of the white man, of all men, are involved in the issue, we shall continue to resist according to our best ability.

"In doing this we shall ever be careful neither to forget nor disregard the value of the Union, the obligations of the Constitution, nor even the courtesies due our brethren of the South."

The legislation of this session was mainly directed in the interest of the several towns or local communities, but among the more important laws enacted were the acts to establish and maintain free schools; to establish and maintain a normal university at Bloomington; to amend the banking law; to provide for a general system of railroad incorporations; to provide for the incorporation of county agricultural societies; to fund the arrears of interest accrued and unpaid on the public debt; to lease the penitentiary to Samuel K. Casey for five years, and to build an additional penitentiary, in which David Y. Bridges, Chauncey L. Higbee and Nelson D. Edwards were constituted commissioners, with full power and authority to select and obtain, by purchase, a suitable site for the same.

The topics which claimed the time of the House and elicited the attention of the people in general, was the discussion of the motion to print 20,000 copies of Gov. Bissell's message for the use of the House, and a resolution to repeal the "black laws." There had been a unanimous vote in favor of printing 20,000 copies of Matteson's message, in English, and a vote of 65 ayes to 4 noes, in favor of printing 5,000 copies in German, but when it was proposed to print 20,000 copies of Bissell's message, a motion was made to reduce the number to 10,000. The House being Democratic, and Mr. Bissell having been elected as a Republican, there was a strong disposition to circumscribe the publication of his message, and the motion to print 10,000 instead of 20,000 copies continued the subject of an angry debate for over a week, when, on the 20th of January, the resolution passed in that form by a vote of 41 ayes to 32 noes.

On the 10th of February, Mr. Kelsey presented a petition of the citizens of Illinois, praying for the repeal of certain black laws, which was referred to a select committee

of three, consisting of Messrs. Kelsey, Pinckney and Wyche. February 16, Mr. Wyche, from a minority of the committee to which the petition had been referred, made a report, which, on motion of Mr. Jarrot, was laid on the table by a vote of 28 ayes to 42 noes, which ended the discussion on that subject.

A *sine die* adjournment was taken on February 19.

CHAPTER V.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1858.

Three Tickets: Republican—Democrat—Buchanan Democrat—Aggregate Vote for State Officers—Aggregate Vote by Districts for Members of Congress.

The Democrats were the first to nominate a State ticket to be voted for at the ensuing November election. The convention was held at Springfield, on the 21st of April. W. B. Fonsey was nominated for Treasurer, and ex-Gov. August C. French for Superintendent of Public Instruction; and although Stephen A. Douglas was the very idol of the intelligent portion of the party, yet the convention did not, in unmistakable terms, condemn the administration of Buchanan for its attempt to force Kansas into the Union as a slave State, in opposition to the expressed will of a majority of the people of the Territory, nor did it indorse Douglas for re-election to the United States Senate for his manly resistance to this great wrong, but left him to make the canvass as best he could. But that portion of the party best known as the office-holders, were not willing that he should have the race to himself, or

that the men nominated should be accepted as the candidates of the National Democratic party. They accordingly held an opposition convention in Springfield, on the 9th of May, and nominated John Dougherty for Treasurer, and ex-Gov. John Reynolds for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Republicans met at the same place, on the 15th of June, and nominated James Miller for Treasurer, and Newton Bateman for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The State was thoroughly canvassed by all the candidates, but it was apparent, from the first, that the prime object of the Buchanan faction was to break down Douglas. They vigorously and bitterly assaulted him from the one side, while Lincoln pursued him with great power and imitable ability on the other; but, notwithstanding this two-fold attack, a legislature favorable to Douglas' re-election was chosen, although the Republicans elected their State ticket by a vote of 125,430, as against 121,609 for the regular Democratic ticket. The so-called Nationals received but 5,071 votes. Not a single Buchanan Democrat was elected to either house, which rendered the vindication of Douglas before the people the more gratifying to his friends.

The aggregate vote for State officers and Congressmen, by districts, is as follows:

TREASURER.

James Miller, R.....	125,430
Wm. B. Fonney, D.....	121,609
John Dougherty, B. D.....	5,071

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Newton Bateman, R.....	124,556
August C. French, D.....	122,413
John Reynolds, B. D.....	5,173

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

Elihu B. Washburne, R.....	15,811
Hiram Bright.....	6,457
Richard H. Jackson.....	870
Scattering.....	7

SECOND DISTRICT.

John F. Farnsworth, R.....	21,797
Thomas Dyer.....	13,198
B. F. Blackburn.....	701
Scattering.....	3

THIRD DISTRICT.

Owen Lovejoy, R.....	22,313
George W. Armstrong.....	14,988
David Leroy.....	1,328
Scattering.....	14

FOURTH DISTRICT.

William Kellogg, R.....	19,487
James W. Davidson.....	16,860
Jacob Gale.....	553
Scattering.....	1

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Isaac N. Morris, D.....	13,529
Jackson Grimshaw.....	11,648
Jacob C. Davis.....	504

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Thomas L. Harris, D.....	16,193
James H. Matheny.....	11,646
John L. McConnel.....	275
Scattering.....	3

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

James C. Robinson, D.....	18,588
Richard J. Oglesby.....	11,760
S. G. Baldwin.....	87
Scattering.....	1



S. A. Drayton

the first time he was called upon. It was a short time after his arrival at the station that he was sent to the office of the manager, Mr. J. C. H. Smith, to receive his instructions. He was told that he was to go to the town of New Haven, Conn., and there to make a full report of the condition of the school, and to ascertain what the amount of money required to put it in a condition to receive a large number of students. Smith made a careful examination of the school, and found that it was in a poor condition, and that it was necessary to expend a large sum of money to put it in a good condition. He also found that the school was in a poor condition, and that it was necessary to expend a large sum of money to put it in a good condition. He also found that the school was in a poor condition, and that it was necessary to expend a large sum of money to put it in a good condition.

Long G.

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Phillip B. Fouke, D.....	11,49
Jehu Baker.....	8,41
Thomas M. Hope.....	19

NINTH DISTRICT.

John A. Logan, D.....	15.87
David L. Phillips.....	2,79
Wm. K. Parrish.....	14

CHAPTER VI.

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN—1858.

Lincoln's Challenge of Douglas for a Joint Debate—Douglas' Reply—Lincoln's Rejoinder—Debate at Freeport.

The campaign between Douglas and Lincoln for a seat in the United States Senate, was the most noted in the annals of the history of any of the States; and we have given precedence to the name of Douglas for the reason that at that time he was regarded as the foremost statesman in the land; while the reputation of Lincoln was confined chiefly to his own State. The character of the two men as regards their prominence in the public mind may be better understood by quoting briefly from a speech made by Mr. Lincoln, in Springfield, on the evening of the 28th of July, which is taken from a report printed in the *State Register* of the following day. Referring to Douglas, he said: "All the anxious politicians of his party have been looking to him as certainly at no very distant

day to be the President of the United States. They have seen in his round, jolly, fruitful face, post-offices, land-offices, marshalships, and cabinet appointments, charge-ships and foreign missions bursting and spouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands. And as they have been gazing upon this attractive picture so long, they cannot, in the little distraction that has taken place in the party, bring themselves to quite give up the charming hope; but with greedier anxiety they rush about him, sustain him, give him marches, triumphal entries and receptions beyond what even in the days of his highest prosperity they could have brought about in his favor. On the contrary, nobody has ever expected me to be President." Although there is some sarcasm mixed with this allusion to Douglas, yet it is evident that Mr. Lincoln felt that his adversary possessed an advantage over him by reason of his National reputation; and it is doubtful if Lincoln himself, or any of his warmest admirers, had the slightest hope that he would ever rise to the exalted position in which Douglas was held in the eyes of his countrymen.

The Democratic party was divided. There was the Buchanan Democracy, and the Douglas Democracy. The Administration of Buchanan had sought to force Kansas into the union of States with a constitution which protected slavery. Douglas had opposed this unjust policy with manly courage, and the issue was carried to Illinois, and on it he made his campaign for re-election to the United States Senate. The office-holders were opposed to him, but the untrammeled masses of his party were almost to a man in favor of his re-election, notwithstanding the State convention had given him only a half-hearted endorsement. Lincoln, on the other hand, had been chosen by a State convention of the Republican party as their candidate for United States Senator, with

the unqualified avowal that he was opposed to the further extension of slavery. At the convention which nominated him for that distinguished trust, which was held in Springfield, that year, Mr. Lincoln, in the course of an address to that body, gave utterance to these memorable words: "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or, its advocates will put it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. Have we no tendency to the latter condition?" Mr. Lincoln had evidently been deeply impressed with the National situation upon the question of slavery, and while his party had no well defined theory as to what ought to be done in the premises, or what would be the final outcome of the momentous issue, yet he believed in his own mind that the slavery question could not long continue to agitate the public mind in the form it then presented itself, but that sooner or later a crisis would come which would forever remove the subject from controversy between the people

of the North and South, and these words were as prophetic as they were significant, and showed conclusively that Lincoln thought more of the true interests of his country than he did of his personal advancement politically.

On the 24th of July, Lincoln challenged Douglas to a joint discussion of the issues between the two parties, and after some circumlocution on the part of the great Senator, he accepted the challenge, suggesting seven meetings, naming Ottawa, Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Galesburg, Quincy and Alton, reserving for himself four openings and closings. Lincoln accepted the proposition without delay and without ceremony. The debates were attended by thousands upon thousands of people, many of whom came from neighboring States, traveling hundreds of miles to witness the intellectual conflict between these great men. Indeed, the contest attracted the attention of the people of every State in the Union, and from that time to this our State has really been the central figure in National politics. This discussion even surpassed the campaign of Henry A. Wise against Native Americanism in Virginia. While it lasted, many people turned aside from their daily pursuits, and employed their time in watching and reading the progress of this most wonderful and exciting contest, which opened at Ottawa on the 21st of August, and closed at Alton on the 15th of October, occupying a period of fifty-six days. The debates were produced in book-form under the direction of their respective short-hand reporters, and we deem it but fit that we should reproduce one of their joint discussions in full, that the reader may form a better idea of the mental character of these grand men as they appeared before the country. We have selected the meeting which took place at Freeport on the 27th of August as the one which shall best serve that purpose, it being their second joint debate.

The interrogatories put to Douglas on that occasion by Lincoln undoubtedly had the effect to return Douglas to the Senate, and make Lincoln President.

Here is the correspondence which passed between them in relation to the joint debate:

MR. LINCOLN TO MR. DOUGLAS.

"CHICAGO, ILL., July 24, 1858.

"HON. S. A. DOUGLAS—*My Dear Sir:* Will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time, and address the same audiences the present canvass? Mr. Judd, who will hand you this, is authorized to receive your answer; and, if agreeable to you, to enter into the terms of such agreement.

"Your obedient servant,

"A. LINCOLN."

MR. DOUGLAS TO MR. LINCOLN.

"CHICAGO, ILL., July 24, 1858.

"HON. A. LINCOLN—*Dear Sir:* Your note of this date, in which you inquire if it would be agreeable to me to make an arrangement to divide the time and address the same audiences during the present canvass, was handed me by Mr. Judd. Recent events have interposed difficulties in the way of such an arrangement.

"I went to Springfield last week for the purpose of conferring with the Democratic State Central Committee upon the mode of conducting the canvass, and with them, and under their advice, made a list of appointments covering the entire period until late in October. The people of the several localities have been notified of the times and places of the meetings. Those appointments have all been made for Democratic meetings, and arrangements have been made by which the Democratic candidates for Congress, for the Legislature, and other offices, will be present and address the people. It is evident, therefore, that these varicus candidates, in connection with myself, will occupy the whole time of the day and evening, and leave no opportunity for other speeches.

"Besides, there is another consideration which should be kept in mind. It has been suggested recently that an arrangement had been made to bring out a third candidate for the United States Senate, who, with yourself,



S. H. Dargan

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

John B. Forke, D.	11,490
Walter ...	8,410
W. A. Hipe ...	193

NINTH DISTRICT.

John J. Logan, D.	17,878
David L. Phillips ...	2,183
Wm. K. Parish ...	1,3

CHAPTER VI.

DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN—1858.

It was the desire of Douglas for a Joint Debate—Douglas' Report—Lincoln's Register—Debate at Freeport.

The campaign between Douglas and Lincoln for a seat in the United States Senate, was the most noted in the history of any of the states; and we have given preference to the name of Douglas for the reason that at that time he was regarded as the foremost statesman in the West; while the reputation of Lincoln was limited chiefly to his own State. The character of the two men as regards their prominence in the public mind can best be better understood by quoting briefly from a speech made by Mr. Lincoln, in Springfield, on the evening of 2nd of July, which is taken from a report printed in the *State Register* of the following day. Referring to Douglas, he said: "All the anxious politicians of his party have been looking to him as certainly at no very distant

rather, is this: At Chicago, July 9th, you made a carefully prepared conclusion on my speech of June 16th. Twenty-four hours after, I made a hasty conclusion on yours of the 9th. You had six days to prepare, and concluded on me again at Bloomington on the 16th. Twenty-four hours after, I concluded again on you at Springfield. In the meantime, you had made another conclusion on me at Springfield, which I did not hear, and of the contents of which I knew nothing when I spoke; so that your speech made in daylight, and mine at night, of the 17th, at Springfield, were both made in perfect independence of each other. The dates of making all these speeches will show, I think, that in the matter of time for preparation, the advantage has all been on your side, and that none of the external circumstances have stood to my advantage.

"I agree to an arrangement for us to speak at the seven places you have named, and at your own times, provided you name the times at once, so that I, as well as you, can have myself the time not covered by the arrangement. As to the other details, I wish perfect reciprocity, and no more. I wish as much time as you, and that conclusions shall alternate. That is all.

"Your obedient servant,

"A. LINCOLN."

"P. S. As matters now stand, I shall be at no more of your exclusive meetings; and for about a week from to-day a letter from you will reach me at Springfield.

"A. L."

MR. DOUGLAS TO MR. LINCOLN.

"BEMENT, PIATT Co., ILL., July 30, 1858.

"Dear Sir: Your letter, dated yesterday, accepting my proposition for a joint discussion at one prominent point in each Congressional District, as stated in my previous letter, was received this morning.

"The times and places designated are as follows:

Ottawa, LaSalle county, August 21st, 1858.

Freeport, Stephenson county, August 27th, 1858.

Jonesboro, Union county, September 15th, "

Charleston, Coles county, " 18th, "

Galesburg, Knox county, October 7th, "

Quincy, Adams county, " 18th, "

Alton, Madison county, " 15th, "

"I agree to your suggestion that we shall alternately open and close the discussion. I will speak at Ottawa

one hour, you can reply, occupying an hour and a half, and I will then follow for half an hour. At Freeport you shall open the discussion, and speak one hour, I will follow for an hour and a half, and you can then reply for half an hour. We will alternate in like manner in each successive place.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
"S. A. DOUGLAS."

"HON. A. LINCOLN, Springfield, Ill."

MR. LINCOLN TO MR. DOUGLAS.

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., July 31, 1858.

"HON. S. A. DOUGLAS—*Dear Sir:* Yours of yesterday, naming places, times and terms, for joint discussions between us, was received this morning. Although, by the terms, as you propose, you take *four* openings and closings, to my *three*, I accede, and thus close the arrangement. I direct this to you at Hillsboro, and shall try to have both your letter and this appear in the *Journal and Register* of Monday morning.

"Your obedient servant,
"A. LINCOLN."

SECOND JOINT DEBATE AT FREEPORT, AUGUST 27, 1858.

MR. LINCOLN'S SPEECH.

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: On Saturday last, Judge Douglas and myself first met in public discussion. He spoke one hour, I an hour and a half, and he replied for half an hour. The order is now reversed. I am to speak an hour, he an hour and a half, and then I am to reply for half an hour. I propose to devote myself during the first hour to the scope of what was brought within the range of his half hour's speech at Ottawa. Of course there was brought within the scope in that half hour's speech something of his own opening speech. In the course of that opening argument Judge Douglas proposed to me seven distinct interrogatories. In my speech of an hour and a half, I attended to some other parts of his speech, and incidentally, as I thought, answered one of the interrogatories then. I then distinctly intimated to him that I would answer the rest of his interrogatories on condition only that he should agree to answer as many for me.

He made no intimation at the time of the proposition, nor did he in his reply allude at all to that suggestion of mine. I do him no injustice in saying that he occupied at least half of his reply in dealing with me as though I had *refused* to answer his interrogatories. I now propose that I will answer any of the interrogatories, upon condition that he will answer questions from me not exceeding the same number. I give him an opportunity to respond. The Judge remains silent. I now say that I will answer his interrogatories, whether he answers mine or not; and that after I have done so, I shall propound mine to him.

"I have supposed myself, since the organization of the Republican party at Bloomington, in May, 1856, bound, as a party man, by the platforms of the party, then and since. If, in any interrogatories which I shall answer, I go beyond the scope of what is within these platforms, it will be perceived that no one is responsible but myself. Having said this much, I will take up the Judge's interrogatories as I find them printed in the Chicago *Times*, and answer them *seriatim*. In order that there may be no mistake about it, I have copied the interrogatories in writing, and also my answers to them. The first one of these interrogatories is in these words:"

Question 1. "I desire to know whether Lincoln to-day stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law?"

Answer. "I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law."

Q. 2. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?"

A. "I do not now, nor ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more slave States into the Union."

Q. 3. "I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make?"

A. "I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union, with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make."

Q. 4. "I want to know whether he stands to-day, pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

A. "I do not stand to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia."

Q. 5. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States?"

A. "I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States."

Q. 6. "I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line?"

A. "I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories."

Q. 7. "I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein."

A. "I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves."

"Now, my friends, it will be perceived, upon an examination of these questions and answers, that, so far, I have only answered that I was not *pledged* to this, that or the other. The Judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me anything more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly that I am not *pledged* at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatory. I am, rather, disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think upon them.

"As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive Slave Law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave Law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive Slave Law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its efficiency. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

"In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another slave State admitted into the Union; but, I must add, that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

"The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

"The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that I have my mind distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet, as a member of Congress, I should not, with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: *First*, that the abolition should be gradual; *second*, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and *third*, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions, I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, 'sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our Nation.'

"In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here, that as to the question of the abolition of the slave-trade between the different States, I can truly answer, as I have, that I am *pledged* to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it, if I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject; but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here, and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess

the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power, unless upon some conservative principle, as I conceive it akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

"My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States, is full and explicit within itself, and cannot be made clearer by any comments of mine. So, I suppose, in regard to the question, whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing.

"Now, in all this the Judge has me, and he has me on the record. I suppose he had flattered himself that I was really entertaining one set of opinions for one place and another set for another place—that I was afraid to say at one place what I uttered at another. What I am saying here, I suppose I say to a vast audience as strongly tending to Abolitionism as any audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I am saying that which, if it would be offensive to any persons and render them enemies to myself, would be offensive to persons in this audience.

"I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories, so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready. I will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four. The first one is:

"Question 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants, according to the English bill—some ninety-three thousand—will you vote to admit them?

"Q. 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?

"Q. 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting and following such decision as a rule of political action?

"Q. 4. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the Nation on the slavery question?

"As introductory to these interrogatories which Judge Douglas propounded to me at Ottawa, he read a set of resolutions which he said Judge Trumbull and myself had participated in adopting, in the first Republican State Convention, held at Springfield, in October, 1854. He insisted that I and Judge Trumbull, and perhaps the entire Republican party, were responsible for the doctrines contained in the set of resolutions which he read, and I understand that it was from that set of resolutions that he deduced the interrogatories which he propounded to me, using these resolutions as a sort of authority for propounding those questions to me. Now, I say here to-day, that I do not answer his interrogatories because of their springing at all from that set of resolutions which he read. I answered them because Judge Douglas thought fit to ask them. I do not now, nor never did, recognize any responsibility upon myself in that set of resolutions. When I replied to him on that occasion, I assured him that I never had anything to do with them. I repeat here to-day, that I never, in any possible form, had anything to do with that set of resolutions. It turns out, I believe, that those resolutions were never passed in any convention held in Springfield. It turns out that they were never passed at any convention or any public meeting that I had any part in. I believe it turns out, in addition to all this, that there was not, in the fall of 1854, any convention holding a session in Springfield, calling itself a Republican State Convention, yet it is true there was a convention, or assemblage of men calling themselves a convention, at Springfield, that did pass *some* resolutions. But so little did I really know of the proceedings of that convention, or what set of resolutions they had passed, though having a general knowledge that there had been such an assemblage of men there, that when Judge Douglas read the resolutions, I really did not know but they had been the resolutions passed then and there. I did not question that they were the resolutions adopted. For I could not bring myself to suppose that Judge Douglas could say what he did upon this subject without *knowing* that it was true. I contented myself, on that occasion, with denying, as I truly could, all connection with them, not denying or affirming whether they were passed at Springfield. Now, it turns out, that he had got hold of some resolutions

passed at some convention or public meeting in Kane county. I wish to say here, that I don't conceive that, in any fair and just mind, this discovery relieves me at all. I had just as much to do with the convention in Kane county as that at Springfield. I am just as much responsible for the resolutions at Kane county as those at Springfield,—the amount of the responsibility being exactly nothing in either case,—no more than there would be in regard to a set of resolutions passed in the moon.

"I allude to this extraordinary matter in this canvass for some further purpose than anything yet advanced. Judge Douglas did not make his statement upon that occasion as matters that he believed to be true, but he stated them roundly as *being true*, in such form as to pledge his veracity for their truth. When the whole matter turns out as it does, and when we consider who Judge Douglas is—that he is a distinguished Senator of the United States—that he has served nearly twelve years as such, that his character is not at all limited as an ordinary Senator of the United States, but that his name has become of world-wide renown, it is *most extraordinary* that he should so far forget all the suggestions of justice to an adversary, or of prudence to himself, as to venture upon the assertion of that which the slightest investigation would have shown him to be wholly false. I can only account for his having done so, upon the supposition that that evil genius which has attended him through his life, giving to him an apparent astounding prosperity, such as to lead very many good men to doubt there being any advantage in virtue over vice,—I say I can only account for it on the supposition that that evil genius has at last made up its mind to forsake him.

"And I may add, that another extraordinary feature of the Judge's conduct in this canvass—made more extraordinary by this incident—is, that he is in the habit, in almost all the speeches he makes, of charging falsehood upon his adversaries, myself and others. I now ask whether he is able to find in anything that Judge Trumbull, for instance, has said, or in anything that I have said, a justification at all compared with what we have, in this instance, shown him capable of, for that sort of vulgarity.

"I have been in the habit of charging, as a matter of belief on my part, that, in the introduction of the Nebraska bill into Congress, there was a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual and National. I have arranged, from time to time, the evidence which establishes and proves

the truth of this charge. I recurred to this charge at Ottawa. I shall not now have time to dwell upon it at any very great length; but, inasmuch as Judge Douglas, in his reply of half an hour, made some points upon me in relation to it, I propose noticing a few of them. The Judge insists that in the first speech I made, in which I very distinctly made that charge, he thought for a good while I was in fun!—that I was playful—that I was not sincere about it—and that he only grew angry and somewhat excited when he found that I insisted upon it as a matter of earnestness. He says he characterized it as a falsehood as far as I implicated his *moral character* in that transaction. Well, I did not know, till he presented that view, that I had implicated his moral character. He is very much in the habit, when he argues me up into a position I never thought of occupying, of very cursorily saying he has no doubt Lincoln is ‘conscientious’ in saying so. He should remember that I did not know but what *he* was ALTOGETHER ‘CONSCIENTIOUS’ in the matter. I can conceive it possible for men to conspire to do a good thing, and I really find nothing in Judge Douglas’ course or arguments that is contrary to or inconsistent with his belief of a conspiracy to nationalize and spread slavery as being a good and blessed thing, and so I hope he will understand that I do not at all question but that in all this matter he is entirely ‘conscientious.’

“But to draw your attention to one of the points I made in this case, beginning at the beginning period when the Nebraska bill was introduced, or a short time afterward, by an amendment, I believe, it was provided that it must be considered ‘the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.’ I have called his attention to the fact that when he and some others began arguing that they were favoring an increased degree of liberty to the people in the Territories over and above what they formerly had on the question of slavery, a question was raised whether the law was enacted to give such unconditional liberty to the people, and to test the sincerity of this mode of argument, Mr. Chase, of Ohio, introduced an amendment, in which he made the law—if the amendment was adopted—expressly declare that the people of the Territory should have the power to exclude

slavery if they saw fit. I have asked attention, also, to the fact that Judge Douglas, and those who acted with him, voted that amendment down, notwithstanding it expressed exactly the thing they said was the true intent and meaning of the law. I have called attention to the fact that in subsequent times, a decision of the Supreme Court has been made, in which it has been declared that a Territorial Legislature has no constitutional right to exclude slavery. And I have argued and said that to men who did intend that the people of the Territory should have the right to exclude slavery absolutely and unconditionally, the voting down of Chase's amendment is wholly inexplicable; it is a puzzle—a riddle. But I have said that with men who did not look forward to such a decision, or who had it in contemplation that such a decision of the Supreme Court would or might be made, the voting down of that amendment would be perfectly rational and intelligible. It would keep Congress from coming in collision with the decision when it was made. Anybody can conceive that if there was an intention or expectation that such a decision was to follow, it would be a very undesirable party attitude to get into, for the Supreme Court—all, or nearly all, its members belonging to the same party—to decide one way, when the party in Congress had decided the other way. Hence it would be very rational for men expecting such a decision, to keep the niche in that law clear for it. After pointing this out, I tell Judge Douglas that it looks to me as though here was the reason why Chase's amendment was voted down. I tell him that as he did it, and knows why he did it, if it was done for a reason different from this, *he knows what that reason was, and can tell us what it was.* I tell him, also, it will be vastly more satisfactory to the country for him to give some other plausible, intelligible reason *why* it was voted down, than to stand upon his dignity and call people liars. Well, on Saturday he did make his answer, and what do you think it was? He says if I had only taken upon myself to tell the whole truth about that amendment of Chase's, no explanation would have been necessary on his part—or words to that effect. Now, I say here, that I am quite unconscious of having suppressed anything material to the case, and I am very frank to admit if there is any sound reason other than that which appeared to me material, it is quite fair for him to present it. What reason does he propose? That when Chase came forward with his amendment

expressly authorizing the people to exclude slavery from the limits of every Territory, Gen. Cass proposed to Chase, if he (Chase) would add to this amendment that the people should have the power to *introduce* or exclude, they would let it go. This is substantially all of his reply. And because Chase would not do that, they voted his amendment down. Well, it turns out, I believe, upon examination, that Gen. Cass took some part in the little running debate upon that amendment, *and then ran away and did not vote on it at all*. Is not that the fact? So confident, as I think, was Gen. Cass that there was a snake somewhere about, he chose to run away from the whole thing. This is an inference I draw from the fact that, though he took part in the debate, his name does not appear in the ayes and noes. But does Judge Douglas' reply amount to a satisfactory answer? (Cries of "yes!" "yes!" and "no!" "no!") There is some little difference of opinion here. But I ask attention to a few more views bearing on the question of whether it amounts to a satisfactory answer. The men who were determined that that amendment should not get into the bill and spoil the place where the Dred Scott decision was to come in, sought an excuse to get rid of it somewhere. One of these ways—one of these excuses—was to ask Chase to add to his proposed amendment a provision that the people might *introduce* slavery if they wanted to. They very well knew Chase would do no such thing—that Mr. Chase was one of the men differing from them on the broad principle of his insisting that freedom was better than slavery,—a man who would not consent to enact a law, penned with his own hand, by which he was made to recognize slavery on the one hand and liberty on the other, as *precisely equal*; and when they insisted on his doing this they very well knew they insisted on that which he would not for a moment think of doing, and that they were only bluffing him. I believe (I have not, since he made his answer, had a chance to examine the journals or *Congressional Globe*, and therefore speak from memory)—I believe the state of the bill at that time, according to parliamentary rules, was such that no member could propose an additional amendment to Chase's amendment. I rather think this is the truth—the Judge shakes his head. Very well. I would like to know, then, if they wanted Chase's amendment fixed over, why somebody else could not have offered to do it? If they wanted it amended, why did they not offer the amendment? Why

did they stand there taunting and quibbling at Chase? Why did they not *put it in themselves?* But to put it on the other ground: suppose that there was such an amendment offered, and Chase's was an amendment to an amendment; until one is disposed of by parliamentary law you can not pile another on. Then all these gentlemen had to do was to vote Chase's on, and then in the amended form in which the whole stood add their own amendment to it, if they wanted to put it in that shape. This was all they were obliged to do, and the ayes and noes show that there were thirty-six who voted it down, against ten who voted in favor of it. The thirty-six held entire sway and control. They could, in some form or other, have put that bill in the exact shape they wanted. If there was a rule preventing their amending it at the time, they could pass that, and then, Chase's amendment being merged, put it in the shape they wanted. They did not choose to do so, but they went into a quibble with Chase to get him to add what they knew he would not add, and because he would not, they stood upon that flimsy pretext for voting down what they argued was the meaning and intent of their own bill. They left room thereby for this Dred Scott decision, which goes very far to make slavery national throughout the United States.

"I pass one or two points I have because my time will very soon expire, but I must be allowed to say that Judge Douglas recurs again, as he did upon one or two other occasions, to the enormity of Lincoln—an insignificant individual like Lincoln—upon his *ipse dixit* charging a conspiracy upon a large number of members of Congress, the Supreme Court and two Presidents, to nationalize slavery! I want to say that, in the first place, I have made no charge of this sort upon my *ipse dixit*. I have only arrayed the evidence tending to prove it, and presented it to the understanding of others, saying what I think it proves, but giving you the means of judging whether it proves it or not. This is precisely what I have done. I have not placed it upon my *ipse dixit* at all. On this occasion, I wish to recall his attention to a piece of evidence which I brought forward at Ottawa on Saturday, showing that he made substantially the *same charge* against substantially the *same persons*, excluding his dear self from the category. I ask him to give some attention to the evidence which I brought forward, that he himself had discovered a 'fatal blow being struck' against the right of the people to exclude slavery from their limits,

which fatal blow he assumed as evidence in an article in the Washington *Union*, published 'by authority.' I ask by whose authority? He discovered a similar or identical provision in the Lecompton constitution. Made by whom? The framers of that constitution. Advocated by whom? By all the members of the party in the Nation, who advocated the introduction of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton constitution.

"I have asked his attention to the evidence that he arrayed to prove that such a fatal blow was being struck, and to the facts which he brought forward in support of that charge—being identical with the one which he thinks so villainous in me. He pointed it not at a newspaper editor merely, but at the President and his Cabinet and the members of Congress advocating the Lecompton constitution and those framing that instrument. I must again be permitted to remind him, that although my *ipse dixit* may not be as great as his, yet it somewhat reduces the force of his calling my attention to the *enormity* of my making a like charge against him.

"Go on, Judge Douglas."

MR. DOUGLAS' SPEECH.

"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The silence with which you have listened to Mr. Lincoln during his hour is creditable to this vast audience, composed of men of various political parties. Nothing is more honorable to any large mass of people assembled for the purpose of a fair discussion, than that kind and respectful attention that is yielded not only to your political friends, but to those who are opposed to you in politics.

"I am glad that at last I have brought Mr. Lincoln to the conclusion that he had better define his position on certain political questions to which I called his attention at Ottawa. He there showed no disposition, no inclination to answer them. I did not present idle questions for him to answer merely for my gratification. I laid the foundation for those interrogatories by showing that they constituted the platform of the party whose nominee he is for the Senate. I did not presume that I had the right to catechise him as I saw proper, unless I showed that his party, or a majority of it, stood upon the platform, and were in favor of the propositions upon which my questions were based. I desired simply to know, inasmuch as he had been nominated as the first, last and

only choice of his party, whether he concurred in the platform which that party had adopted for its government. In a few moments I will proceed to review the answers which he has given to these interrogatories; but in order to relieve his anxiety, I will first respond to those which he has presented to me. Mark you, he has not presented interrogatories which have ever received the sanction of the party with which I am acting, and hence he has no other foundation for them than his own curiosity.

"First, he desires to know if the people of Kansas shall form a constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable and ask admission into the Union as a State, before they have the requisite population for a member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission. Well, now, I regret exceedingly that he did not answer that interrogatory himself before he put it to me, in order that we might understand, and not be left to infer, on which side he is. Mr. Trumbull, during the last session of Congress, voted from the beginning to the end against the admission of Oregon, although a free State, because she had not the requisite population for a member of Congress. Mr. Trumbull would not consent, under any circumstances, to let a State, free or slave, come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull is in the field, fighting for Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Lincoln answer his own question and tell me whether he is fighting Trumbull on that issue or not. But I will answer his question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion, that as she has population enough to constitute a slave State, she has population enough for a free State. I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to the other States of the Union. I hold it to be a sound rule of universal application to require a Territory to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress, before it is admitted as a State into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1856, and I renewed it during the last session, in a bill providing that no Territory of the United States should form a constitution and apply for admission until it had the requisite population. On another occasion I proposed that neither Kansas, or any other Territory, should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not adopt any of my propositions containing this general rule, but did make an exception of Kansas. I will stand by that exception. Either Kansas must come in as a free State, with whatever population she may have,

or the rule must be applied to all the other Territories alike. I therefore answer at once, that it having been decided that Kansas has population enough for a slave State, I hold that she has enough for a free State. I hope Mr. Lincoln is satisfied with my answer; and now I would like to get his answer to his own interrogatory—whether or not he will vote to admit Kansas before she has the requisite population. I want to know whether he will vote to admit Oregon before that Territory has the requisite population. Mr. Trumbull will not, and the same reason that commits Mr. Trumbull against the admission of Oregon, commits him against Kansas, even if she should apply for admission as a free State. If there is any sincerity, any truth, in the argument of Mr. Trumbull in the Senate, against the admission of Oregon because she had not 93,420 people, although her population was larger than that of Kansas, he stands pledged against the admission of both Oregon and Kansas until they have 93,420 inhabitants. I would like Mr. Lincoln to answer this question. I would like him to take his own medicine. If he differs with Mr. Trumbull, let him answer his argument against the admission of Oregon, instead of poking questions at me.

"The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, can the people of a Territory, in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? I answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that, in my opinion, the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it, as they please, for the reason that slavery can not exist a day, or an hour, anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature, and if the people are opposed to slavery they will elect representatives to that body who will, by

unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a slave Territory or a free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point.

"In this connection, I will notice the charge which he has introduced in relation to Mr. Chase's amendment. I thought I had chased that amendment out of Mr. Lincoln's brain at Ottawa; but it seems that still haunts his imagination, and he is not yet satisfied. I had supposed that he would be ashamed to press that question further. He is a lawyer, and has been a member of Congress, and has occupied his time and amused you by telling you about parliamentary proceedings. He ought to have known better than to try to palm off his miserable impositions upon this intelligent audience. The Nebraska bill provided that the legislative power and authority of the said Territory should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the organic act and the Constitution of the United States. It did not make any exception as to slavery, but gave all the power that it was possible for Congress to give, without violating the Constitution, to the Territorial Legislature, with no exception or limitation on the subject of slavery at all. The language of that bill, which I have quoted, gave the full power and the full authority over the subject of slavery, affirmatively and negatively, to introduce it or exclude it, so far as the Constitution of the United States would permit. What more could Mr. Chase give by his amendment? Nothing. He offered his amendment for the identical purpose for which Mr. Lincoln is using it—to enable demagogues in the country to try and deceive the people.

"His amendment was to this effect: It provided that the Legislature should have the power to exclude slavery; and Gen. Cass suggested, 'Why not give the power to introduce as well as exclude?' The answer was, they have the power already in the bill to do both. Chase was afraid his amendment would be adopted if he put the alternative proposition and so make it fair both ways, but would not yield. He offered it for the purpose of having it rejected. He offered it, as he has himself avowed over and over again, simply to make capital out of it for the stump. He expected that it would be capital for small politicians

in the country, and that they would make an effort to deceive the people with it, and he was not mistaken, for Lincoln is carrying out the plan admirably. Lincoln knows that the Nebraska bill, without Chase's amendment, gave all the power which the Constitution would permit. Could Congress confer any more? Could Congress go beyond the Constitution of the country? We gave all a full grant, with no exception in regard to slavery one way or the other. We left that question as we left all others, to be decided by the people for themselves, just as they pleased. I will not occupy my time on this question. I have argued it before all over Illinois. I have argued it in this beautiful city of Freeport; I have argued it in the North, the South, the East, and the West, avowing the same sentiments and the same principles. I have not been afraid to avow my sentiments up here for fear I would be trotted down into Egypt.

"The third question which Mr. Lincoln presented is, if the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a State of this Union cannot exclude slavery from its own limits, will I submit to it? I am amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. ('A school-boy knows better.') Yes, a school-boy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America claiming any degree of intelligence or decency, who ever for a moment pretended such a thing. It is true that the *Washington Union*, in an article published on the 17th of last December, did put forth that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate, in a speech which Mr. Lincoln now pretends was against the President. The *Union* had claimed that slavery had a right to go into the free States, and that any provision in the Constitution or laws of the free States to the contrary were null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did. Lincoln's friends, Trumbull, and Seward, and Hale, and Wilson, and the whole Black Republican side of the Senate, were silent. They left it to me to denounce it, and what was the reply made to me on that occasion? Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, got up and undertook to lecture me on the ground that I ought not to have deemed the article worthy of notice, and ought not to have replied to it; that there was not one man, woman or child south of the Potomac, in any slave State, who did not repudiate any such pretension. Mr. Lincoln knows that that reply was made

on the spot, and yet now he asks this question. He might as well ask me, suppose Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse, would I sanction it; and it would be as genteel in me to ask him, in the event he stole a horse, what ought to be done with him. He casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court of the United States, by supposing that they would violate the Constitution of the United States. I tell him that such a thing is not possible. It would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench could ever descend to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never, in his partisan feelings, so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an act. The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is, are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union on the slavery question? This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

"The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly, that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I ask Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Are you (addressing Mr. Lincoln) opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he does not like to answer. When I ask him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party, he turns, Yankee fashion, and without answering it, asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question. I answer, that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery, and when we have acquired it I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free territory, as they prefer. It is idle to tell me or you that we have territory enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when our territory extended to the Mississippi river, but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana territory, from the west branch of the Mississippi to the British possessions, was acquired. Then we acquired Oregon, then California and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present, but this is a young and growing Nation. It swarms as often as a hive of bees, and as new swarms are turned out each year, there must be hives in which they can gather and make their honey. In less than fifteen years, if the same progress that has distinguished this country for the

last fifteen years continues, every foot of vacant land between this and the Pacific ocean, owned by the United States, will be occupied. Will you not continue to increase at the end of fifteen years as well as now? I tell you, increase, and multiply, and expand, is the law of this Nation's existence. You cannot limit this great Republic by mere boundary lines, saying, 'thus far shalt thou go and no farther.' Any one of you gentlemen might as well say to a son twelve years old that he is big enough, and must not grow any larger, and in order to prevent his growth put a hoop around him to keep him to his present size. What would be the result? Either the hoop must burst and be rent asunder, or the child must die. So it would be with this great Nation. With our natural increase, growing with a rapidity unknown in any other part of the globe, with the tide of emigration that is fleeing from despotism in the old world to seek refuge in our own, there is a constant torrent pouring into this country that requires more land, more territory upon which to settle, and just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the North, in the South, or on the islands of the ocean, I am for it; and when we acquire it, will leave the people, according to the Nebraska bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other question.

"I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brain so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength enough to invent others. As soon as he is able to hold a counsel with his advisers—Lovejoy, Farnsworth, and Fred. Douglass, he will frame and propound others. ('Good, good.') You Black Republicans who say good, I have no doubt think that they are all good men. I have reason to recollect that some people in this country think that Fred. Douglass is a very good man. The last time I came here to make a speech, while talking from the stand to you people of Freeport, as I am doing to-day, I saw a carriage, and a magnificent one it was, drive up and take a position on the outside of the crowd, a beautiful young lady was sitting on the box-seat, whilst Fred. Douglass and the lady's mother reclined inside, and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. I saw this in your own town. ('What of it?') All I have to say of it is this, that if you Black Republicans think that the negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a

carriage with your wife whilst you drive the team, you have a perfect right to do so. I am told that one of Fred. Douglass' kinsmen, another rich black negro, is now traveling in this part of the State making speeches for his friend Lincoln as the champion of the black men. ('What have you to say against it?') All I have to say on that subject is, that those of you who believe that the negro is your equal and ought to be on an equality with you socially, politically and legally, have a right to entertain those opinions, and, of course, will vote for Mr. Lincoln.

"I have a word to say on Mr. Lincoln's answer to the interrogatories contained in my speech at Ottawa, and which he has pretended to reply to here to-day. Mr. Lincoln makes a great parade of the fact that I quoted a platform as having been adopted by the Black Republican party at Springfield, in 1854, which, it turns out, was adopted at another place. Mr. Lincoln loses sight of the thing itself in his ecstacies over the mistake I made in stating the place where it was done. He thinks that that platform was not adopted on the right 'spot.'

"When I put the direct question to Mr. Lincoln, to ascertain whether he now stands pledged to that creed—to the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, a refusal to admit any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them, a determination to apply the Wilmot Proviso, not only to all the territory we now have, but all that we may hereafter acquire—he refused to answer, and his followers say, in excuse, that the resolutions upon which I based my interrogatories were not adopted at the 'right spot.' Lincoln and his political friends are great on 'spots.' In Congress, as a representative of this State, he declared the Mexican war to be unjust and infamous, and would not support it, or acknowledge his own country to be right in the contest, because, he said, that American blood was not shed on American soil in the 'right spot.' And now he cannot answer the questions I put to him at Ottawa because the resolutions I read were not adopted at the 'right spot.' It may be possible that I was led into an error as to the spot on which the resolutions I then read were proclaimed, but I was not and am not in error as to the fact of their forming the basis of the creed of the Republican party, when that party was first organized. I will state to you the evidence I had, and upon which I relied for my statement that the resolutions in question were adopted at

Springfield, on the 5th of October, 1854. Although I was aware that such resolutions had been passed in this district, and nearly all the northern Congressional districts, and county conventions, I had not noticed whether or not they had been adopted by any State convention. In 1856, a debate arose in Congress between Major Thomas L. Harris, of the Springfield district, and Mr. Norton, of the Joliet district, on political matters connected with our State, in the course of which Major Harris quoted those resolutions as having been passed by the first Republican State Convention that ever assembled in Illinois. I knew that Major Harris was remarkable for his accuracy, that he was a very conscientious and sincere man, and I also noticed that Norton did not question the accuracy of this statement. I therefore took it for granted that it was so, and the other day, when I concluded to use the resolutions at Ottawa, I wrote to Charles H. Lanphier, editor of the *State Register*, at Springfield, calling his attention to them, telling him that I had been informed that Major Harris was lying sick at Springfield, and desiring him to call upon him and ascertain all the facts concerning the resolutions, the time and the place where they were adopted. In reply, Mr. Lanphier sent to me two copies of his paper, which I have here. The first is a copy of the *State Register*, published at Springfield, Mr. Lincoln's own town, on the 16th of October, 1854, only eleven days after the adjournment of the convention, from which I desire to read the following:

"During the late discussions in this city, Lincoln made a speech, to which Judge Douglas replied. In Lincoln's speech he took the broad ground that, according to the Declaration of Independence, the whites and blacks are equal. From this he drew the conclusion, which he several times repeated, that the white man had no right to pass laws for the government of the black man without the nigger's consent. This speech of Lincoln's was heard and applauded by all the Abolitionists assembled in Springfield. So soon as Mr. Lincoln was done speaking, Mr. Codding arose, and requested all the delegates to the Black Republican Convention to withdraw into the Senate chamber. They did so, and after long deliberation, they laid down the following Abolition platform as the platform on which they stood. We call the attention of all our readers to it."

"Then follows the identical platform, word for word, which I read at Ottawa. Now, that was published in Mr.

Lincoln's own town, eleven days after the convention was held, and it has remained on record up to this day, never contradicted.

"When I quoted the resolutions at Ottawa, and questioned Mr. Lincoln in relation to them, he said that his name was on the committee that reported them, but he did not serve, nor did he think he served, because he was, or thought he was, in Tazewell county at the time the convention was in session. He did not deny that the resolutions were passed by the Springfield convention. He did not know better, and, evidently, thought they were, but afterwards his friends declared that they had discovered that they varied in some respects from the resolutions passed by that convention. I have shown you that I had good evidence for believing that the resolutions had been passed at Springfield. Mr. Lincoln ought to have known better; but not a word is said about his ignorance on the subject, whilst I, notwithstanding the circumstances, am accused of forgery.

"Now, I will show you that if I had made a mistake as to the place where these resolutions were adopted—and when I get down to Springfield I will investigate the matter and see whether or not I have—that the principles they enunciate were adopted as to the Black Republican platform ('white, white,') in the various counties and congressional districts throughout the north end of the State, in 1854. This platform was adopted in nearly every county that gave a Black Republican majority for the Legislature in that year, and here is a man (pointing to Mr. Denio, who sat on the stand near Deacon Bross) who knows as well as any living man that it was the creed of the Black Republican party at that time. I would be willing to call Denio as a witness, or any other honest man belonging to that party. I will now read the resolutions adopted at the Rockford convention on the 30th of August, 1854, which nominated Washburne, for Congress. You elected him on the following platform:

"*Resolved*, That the continued and increasing aggressions of slavery in our country are destructive of the best rights of a free people, and that such aggressions cannot be successfully resisted without the united political action of all good men.

"*Resolved*, That the citizens of the United States hold within their hands peaceful, constitutional and efficient remedies against the encroachment of the slave power, the

ballot-box, and, if that remedy is boldly and wisely applied, the principles of liberty and eternal justice will be established.

“*Resolved*, That we accept this issue forced upon us by the slave power, and in defense of freedom will co-operate and be known as Republicans, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes:

“To bring the administration of the government back to the control of first principles; to restore Kansas and Nebraska to the position of free Territories; to repeal and entirely abrogate the Fugitive Slave Law; to restrict slavery to those States in which it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more slave States into the Union; to exclude slavery from all the Territories over which the General Government has exclusive jurisdiction, and to resist the acquisition of any more Territories, unless the introduction of slavery therein forever shall have been prohibited.

“*Resolved*, That in the furtherance of these principles we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best to their accomplishment, and that we will support no man for office under the general or State government who is not positively committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guaranty that he is reliable, and shall abjure all party allegiance and ties.

“*Resolved*, That we cordially invite persons of all former political parties, whatever, in favor of the object expressed in the above resolutions, to unite with us in carrying them into effect.”

“Well, you think that is a very good platform, do you not? If you do, if you approve it now, and think it is all right, you will not join with those men who say that I libel you by calling these your principles, will you? Now, Mr. Lincoln complains; Mr. Lincoln charges that I did you and him injustice by saying that this was the platform of your party. I am told that Mr. Washburne made a speech in Galena last night, in which he abused me awfully for bringing to light this platform, on which he was elected to Congress. He thought that you had forgotten it, as he and Mr. Lincoln desires to. He did not deny but that you had adopted it, and that he had subscribed to and was pledged by it, but he did not think it was fair to call it up and remind the people that it was their platform.

"But I am glad to find that you are more honest in your Abolitionism than your leaders, by avowing that it is your platform, and right in your opinion.

"In the adoption of that platform, you not only declare that you would resist the admission of any more slave States, and work for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, but you pledged yourselves not to vote for any man for State or Federal offices who was not committed to these principles. You were thus committed. Similar resolutions to those were adopted in your county convention here, and now with your admissions that they are your platform and embody your sentiments now as they did then, what do you think of Mr. Lincoln, your candidate for the United States Senate, who is attempting to dodge the responsibility of this platform because it was not adopted in the right spot. I thought it was adopted in Springfield, but it turns out it was not, that it was adopted at Rockford, and in the various counties which comprised this Congressional district. When I get into the next district I will show that the same platform was adopted there, and so on through the State, until I nail the responsibility of it upon the back of the Black Republican party throughout the State.

"A voice—'Couldn't you modify and call it brown?'

Mr. Douglas—"Not a bit. I thought that you were becoming a little brown when your members in Congress voted for the Crittenden-Montgomery bill, but since you have backed out from that position and gone back to abolitionism, you are black and not brown.

"Gentlemen, I have shown you what your platform was in 1854. You still adhere to it. The same platform was adopted by nearly all the counties where the Black Republican party had a majority in 1854. I wish now to call your attention to the action of your Representatives in the Legislature, when they assembled together at Springfield. In the first place, you must remember that this was the organization of a new party. It is so declared in the resolutions themselves, which say that you are going to dissolve all old party ties, and call the new party Republican. The old Whig party was to have its throat cut from ear to ear, and the Democratic party was to be annihilated and blotted out of existence, while in lieu of these parties the Black Republican party was to be organized on this Abolition platform. You know who the chief leaders were in breaking up and destroying these two great parties. Lincoln on the one hand, and Trumbull on the

other, being disappointed politicians, and having retired or been driven to obscurity by an outraged constituency, because of their political sins, formed a scheme to abolitionize the two parties, and lead the old line Whigs and old line Democrats captive, bound hand and foot, into the Abolition camp. Giddings, Chase, Fred. Douglass and Lovejoy were here to christen them whenever they were brought in. Lincoln went to work to dissolve the old line Whig party. Clay was dead, and although the sod was not yet green on his grave, this man undertook to bring into disrepute those great compromise measures of 1850, with which Clay and Webster were identified. Up to 1854, the old Whig party and the Democratic party had stood on a common platform, so far as this slavery question was concerned. You Whigs and we Democrats differed about the bank, the tariff distribution, the specie circular and the subtreasury, but we agreed on this slavery question, and the true mode of preserving the peace and harmony of the Union. The compromise measures of 1850 were introduced by Clay, were defended by Webster, and supported by Cass, and were approved by Fillmore, and sanctioned by the National men of both parties. They constituted a common plank upon which both Whigs and Democrats stood. In 1852, the Whig party, in its last National Convention at Baltimore, endorsed and approved these measures of Clay, and so did the National Convention of the Democratic party, held that same year. Thus, the old line Whigs and the old line Democrats stood pledged to the great principle of self-government, which guarantees to the people of each Territory the right to decide the slavery question for themselves. In 1854, after the death of Clay and Webster, Mr. Lincoln, on the part of the Whigs, undertook to abolitionize the Whig party, by dissolving it, transferring the members into the Abolition camp, and making them train under Giddings, Fred. Douglass, Lovejoy, Chase, Farnsworth and other Abo'ition leaders. Trumbull undertook to dissolve the Democratic party by taking them into the Abolition camp. Mr. Lincoln was aided in his efforts by many leading Whigs throughout the State. Your member of Congress, Mr. Washburne, being one of the most active. Trumbull was aided by many renegades from the Democratic party, among whom were John Wentworth, Tom Turner, and others, with whom you are familiar.

(Mr. Turner, who was one of the moderators, here interposed and said that he had drawn the resolutions which Senator Douglas had read.)

Mr. Douglas—"Yes, and Turner says that he drew these resolutions." ('Hurrah for Turner,' 'Hurrah for Douglas.') "That is right, give Turner cheers for drawing the resolutions if you approve them. If he drew those resolutions he will not deny that they are the creed of the Black Republican party."

Mr. Turner—"They are our creed exactly."

Mr. Douglas—"And yet Lincoln denies that he stands on them. Mr. Turner says that the creed of the Black Republican party is the admission of no more slave States, and yet Mr. Lincoln declares that he would not like to be placed in a position where he would have to vote for them. All I have to say to friend Lincoln is, that I do not think there is much danger of his being placed in such a position. As Mr. Lincoln would be very sorry to be placed in such an embarrassing position as to be obliged to vote on the admission of any more slave States, I propose, out of sheer kindness, to relieve him from any such necessity.

"When the bargain between Lincoln and Trumbull was completed for abolitionizing the Whig and Democratic parties, they 'spread' over the State, Lincoln pretending to be an old line Whig, in order to 'rope in' the Whigs, and Trumbull pretending to be as good a Democrat as he ever was, in order to coax the Democrats over into the Abolition ranks. They played the part that 'decoy ducks' play down on the Potomac river. In that part of the country they make artificial ducks, and put them on the water in places where the wild ducks are to be found, for the purpose of decoying them. Well, Lincoln and Trumbull played the part of these 'decoy ducks,' and deceived enough old line Whigs and old line Democrats to elect a Black Republican Legislature. When that Legislature met, the first thing it did was to elect as Speaker of the House the very man who is now boasting that he wrote the Abolition platform on which Lincoln will not stand. I want to know of Mr. Turner whether or not, when he was elected, he was a good embodiment of Republican principles?"

Mr. Turner—"I hope I was then and am now."

Mr. Douglas—"He answers that he hopes he was then and is now. He wrote that Black Republican platform, and is satisfied with it now. I admire and acknowledge Turner's honesty. Every man of you know that what he

says about these resolutions being the platform of the Black Republican party is true, and you also know that each one of these men, who are shuffling and trying to deny it, are only trying to cheat the people out of their votes, for the purpose of deceiving them still more after the election. I propose to trace this thing a little further, in order that you can see what additional evidence there is to fasten this revolutionary platform upon the Black Republican party. When the Legislature assembled, there was an United States Senator to elect in the place of Gen. Shields, and before they proceeded to ballot, Lovejoy insisted on laying down certain principles by which to govern the party. It has been published to the world, and satisfactorily proven, that there was, at the time the alliance was made between Trumbull and Lincoln to abolitionize the two parties, an agreement that Lincoln should take Shields' place in the United States Senate, and Trumbull should have mine so soon as they could conveniently get rid of me. When Lincoln was beaten for Shields' place, in a manner I will refer to in a few minutes, he felt very sore and restive; his friends grumbled, and some of them came out and charged that the most infamous treachery had been practiced against him; that the bargain was that Lincoln was to have had Shields' place, and Trumbull was to have waited for mine, but that Trumbull, having the control of a few abolitionized Democrats, he prevented them from voting for Lincoln, thus keeping him within a few votes of an election until he succeeded in forcing the party to drop him and elect Trumbull. Well, Trumbull having cheated Lincoln, his friends made a fuss, and in order to keep them and Lincoln quiet, the party were obliged to come forward, in advance, at the last State election, and make a pledge that they would go for Lincoln and nobody else. Lincoln could not be silenced in any other way.

"Now, there are a great many Black Republicans of you who do not know this thing was done. ('White, white,' and great clamor.) I wish to remind you, that while Mr. Lincoln was speaking there was not a Democrat vulgar and blackguard enough to interrupt him. But I know that the shoe is pinching you. I am clinching Lincoln now, and you are scared to death for the result. I have seen this thing before. I have seen men make appointments for joint discussions, and the moment their man has been heard, try to interrupt and prevent a fair hearing of the other side. I have seen your mobs before, and defy

your wrath. My friends, do not cheer, for I need my whole time. The object of the opposition is to occupy my attention, in order to prevent me from giving the whole evidence and nailing this double dealing on the Black Republican party. As I have before said, Lovejoy demanded a declaration of principles on the part of the Black Republicans of the Legislature before going into an election for United States Senator. He offered the following preamble and resolutions, which I hold in my hand.

“ WHEREAS, Human slavery is a violation of the principles of natural and revealed rights; and whereas, the fathers of the revolution, fully imbued with the spirit of these principles, declared freedom to be the inalienable birthright of all men; and whereas, the preamble to the Constitution of the United States avers that that instrument was ordained to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and whereas, in furtherance of the above principles, slavery was forever prohibited in the old Northwest territory, and more recently in all that territory lying west and north of the State of Missouri, by the act of the Federal Government; and whereas, the repeal of the prohibition last referred to was contrary to the wishes of the people of Illinois, a violation of an implied compact, long deemed sacred by the citizens of the United States, and a wide departure from the uniform action of the General Government in relation to the extension of slavery; therefore,

“ *Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein,* That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and Representatives requested, to introduce, if not otherwise introduced, and to vote for, a bill to restore such prohibition to the aforesaid Territories, and also to extend a similar prohibition to all territory which now belongs to the United States, or which may hereafter come under their jurisdiction.

“ *Resolved,* That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to vote against the admission of any State into the Union, the constitution of which does not prohibit slavery, whether the territory out of which such State may have been formed shall have been acquired by conquest, treaty, purchase, or from original territory of the United States.

“ *Resolved,* That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to introduce and vote for a bill to repeal an act entitled ‘an act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service

of their masters,' and, failing in that, for such a modification of it as shall secure the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury before the regularly constituted authorities of the State, to all persons claimed as owing service or labor.

"Those resolutions were introduced by Mr. Lovejoy immediately preceding the election of Senator. They declared first, that the Wilmot Proviso must be applied to all territory north of 36 deg. 30 min. Secondly, that it must be applied to all territory south of 36 deg. 30 min. Thirdly, that it must be applied to all the territory now owned by the United States, and finally, that it must be applied to all territory hereafter to be acquired by the United States. The next resolution declares that no more slave States shall be admitted into this Union under any circumstances whatever, no matter whether they are formed out of territory now owned by us or that we may hereafter acquire, by treaty, by Congress, or in any manner whatever. The next resolution demands the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, although its unconditional repeal would leave no provision for carrying out that clause of the Constitution of the United States which guarantees the surrender of fugitives. If they could not get an unconditional repeal, they demanded that that law should be so modified as to make it as nearly useless as possible. Now, I want to show you who voted for these resolutions. When the vote was taken on the first resolution it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 41, nays 32. You will find that this is a strict party vote, between the Democrats on the one hand, and the Black Republicans on the other. (Cries of 'white, white,' and clamor.) I know your name, and always call things by their right name. The point I wish to call your attention to is this, that these resolutions were adopted on the 7th day of February, and that on the 8th they went into an election for a United States Senator, and that day every man who voted for these resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted for Lincoln for the United States Senate. ('Give us their names.') I will read the names over to you if you want them, but I believe your object is to occupy my time.

"On the next resolution the vote stood, yeas 33, nays 40, and on the third resolution, yeas 35, nays 47. I wish to impress upon you, that every man who voted for those resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted on the next day for Lincoln for United States Senator. Bear in mind that the members who thus voted for Lincoln were elected to the Legislature pledged to vote for no man for office

under the State or Federal Government who was not committed to this Black Republican platform. They were all so pledged. Mr. Turner, who stands by me, and who then represented you, and who says that he wrote those resolutions, voted for Lincoln, when he was pledged not to do so unless Lincoln was in favor of those resolutions. I now ask Mr. Turner, (turning to Mr. Turner,) did you violate your pledge in voting for Mr. Lincoln, or did he commit himself to your platform before you cast your vote for him?

"I could go through the whole list of names here and show you that all the Black Republicans in the Legislature, who voted for Mr. Lincoln, had voted on the day previous for these resolutions. For instance, here are the names of Sargent and Little of JoDaviess and Carroll, Thomas J. Turner of Stephenson, Lawrence of Boone and McHenry, Swan of Lake, Pinckney of Ogle and Lyman of Winnebago counties. Thus you see that every member from your Congressional district voted for Mr. Lincoln, and they were pledged not to vote for him unless he committed himself to the doctrine of no more slave States, and the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Lincoln tells you to-day that he is not pledged to any such doctrine. Either Mr. Lincoln was then committed to those propositions, or Mr. Turner violated his pledges to you when he voted for him. Either Lincoln was pledged to each one of those propositions, or else every Black Republican Representative from this Congressional district violated his pledge of honor to his constituents by voting for him. I ask you which horn of the dilemma will you take? Will you hold Lincoln up to the platform of his party, or will you accuse every Representative you had in the Legislature of violating his pledge of honor to his constituents? There is no escape for you. Either Mr. Lincoln was committed to those propositions, or your members violated their faith. Take either horn of the dilemma you choose. There is no dodging the question; I want Lincoln's answer. He says he was not pledged to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law, that he does not quite like to do it; he will not introduce a law to repeal it, but thinks there ought to be some law,—he does not tell what it ought to be; upon the whole, he is altogether undecided, and don't know what to think or do. That is the substance of his answer upon the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. I put the question to him distinctly,

whether he endorsed that part of the Black Republican platform which calls for the entire abrogation and repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law. He answers, no! That he does not endorse that, but he does not tell us what he is for or what he will vote for. His answer is, in fact, no answer at all. Why can not he speak out and say what he is for and what he will do?

"In regard to there being no more slave States, he is not pledged to that. He would not like, he says, to be put in a position where he would have to vote one way or another upon that question. I pray you, do not put him in a position that would embarrass him so much. Gentlemen, if he goes to the Senate, he may be put in that position, and then which way will he vote?"

A voice—"How will you vote?"

Mr. Douglas—"I will vote for the admission of just such a State as by the form of their Constitution the people show they want; if they want slavery, they shall have it; if they prohibit it, it shall be prohibited. They can form their institutions to please themselves, subject only to the Constitution; and I for one stand ready to receive them into the Union. Why can not your Black Republican candidates talk out as plain as that when they are questioned?"

"I do not want to cheat any man out of his vote. No man is deceived in regard to my principles, if I have the power to express myself in terms explicit enough to convey my ideas."

"Mr. Lincoln made a speech when he was nominated for the United States Senate which covers all the Abolition platforms. He there lays down a proposition so broad in its abolitionism as to cover the whole ground.

"'In my opinion it (the slavery agitation) will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself can not stand.' I believe this Government can not endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States—old as well as new, North as well as South.'

"There you find that Mr. Lincoln lays down the doctrine that this Union can not endure divided as our fathers

made it, with free and slave States. He says they must all become one thing, or all the other; that they must all be free or all slave, or else the Union can not continue to exist. It being his opinion that to admit any more slave States—to continue to divide the Union into free and slave States—will dissolve it, I want to know of Mr. Lincoln whether he will vote for the admission of another slave State.

"He tells you the Union can not exist unless the States are all free or all slave; he tells you that he is opposed to making them all slave, and hence he is for making them all free, in order that the Union may exist; and yet he will not say that he will not vote against another slave State, knowing that the Union must be dissolved if he votes for it. I ask you if that is fair dealing? The true intent and inevitable conclusion to be drawn from his first Springfield speech is, that he is opposed to the admission of any more slave States under any circumstances. If he is so opposed, why not say so? If he believes this Union can not endure divided into free and slave States, that they must all become free in order to save the Union, he is bound, as an honest man, to vote against any more slave States. If he believes it, he is bound to do it. Show me that it is my duty, in order to save the Union, to do a particular act, and I will do it if the Constitution does not prohibit it. I am not for the dissolution of the Union under any circumstances. I will pursue no course of conduct that will give just cause for the dissolution of the Union. The hope of the friends of freedom throughout the world rests upon the perpetuity of this Union. The down-trodden and oppressed people who are suffering under European despotism all look with hope and anxiety to the American Union as the only resting place and permanent home of freedom and self-government.

"Mr. Lincoln says that he believes that this Union can not continue to endure with slave States in it, and yet he will not tell you distinctly whether he will vote for or against the admission of any more slave States, but says he would not like to be put to the test. I do not think he will be put to the test. I do not think that the people of Illinois desire a man to represent them who would not like to be put to the test on the performance of a high constitutional duty. I will retire in shame from the Senate of the United States when I am not willing to be put to the test in the performance of my duty. I have been put to severe tests.

I have stood by my principles in fair weather and in foul, in the sunshine and in the rain. I have defended the great principles of self-government here among you when Northern sentiment ran in a torrent against me, and I have defended that same great principle when Southern sentiment came down like an avalanche upon me. I was not afraid of any test they put to me. I knew I was right—I knew my principles were sound—I knew that the people would see in the end that I had done right, and I knew that the God of Heaven would smile upon me if I was faithful in the performance of my duty.

"Mr. Lincoln makes a charge of corruption against the Supreme Court of the United States, and two Presidents of the United States, and attempts to bolster it up by saying that I did the same against the Washington *Union*. Suppose I did make that charge of corruption against the Washington *Union*, when it was true; does that justify him in making a false charge against me and others? That is the question I would put. He says that at the time the Nebraska bill was introduced, and before it was passed, there was a conspiracy between the judges of the Supreme Court, President Pierce, President Buchanan and myself by that bill, and the decision of the Court, to break down the barrier and establish slavery all over the Union. Does he not know that that charge is historically false as against Mr. Buchanan? He knows that Mr. Buchanan was at that time in England, representing this country with distinguished ability at the court of St. James; that he was there for a long time before, and did not return for a year or more after. He knows that to be true, and that fact proves his charge to be false as against Mr. Buchanan. Then, again, I wish to call his attention to the fact that at the time the Nebraska bill was passed, the Dred Scott case was not before the Supreme Court at all; it was not upon the docket of the Supreme Court; it had not been brought there, and the judges in all probability knew nothing of it. Thus the history of the country proves the charge to be false as against them. As to President Pierce, his high character as a man of integrity and honor is enough to vindicate him from such a charge; and as to myself, I pronounce the charge an infamous lie, whenever and wherever made, and by whomsoever made. I am willing that Mr. Lincoln should go and rake up every public act of mine, every measure I have introduced, report I have made, speech delivered, and criticise them, but when he charges upon me a corrupt conspiracy

for the purpose of perverting the institutions of the country, I brand it as it deserves. I say the history of the country proves it to be false, and that it could not have been possible at the time. But now he tries to protect himself in this charge, because I made a charge against the *Washington Union*. My speech in the Senate against the *Washington Union* was made because it advocated a revolutionary doctrine, by declaring that the free States had not the right to prohibit slavery within their own limits. Because I made that charge against the *Washington Union*, Mr. Lincoln says it was a charge against Mr. Buchanan. Suppose it was, is Mr. Lincoln the peculiar defender of Mr. Buchanan? Is he so interested in the Federal Administration, and so bound to it, that he must jump to the rescue and defend it from every attack that I may make against it? I understand the whole thing. The *Washington Union*, under that most corrupt of all men, Cornelius Wendell, is advocating Mr. Lincoln's claim to the Senate. Wendell was the printer of the last Black Republican House of Representatives; he was a candidate before the present Democratic house, but was ignominiously kicked out, and then he took the money which he had made out of the public printing, by means of the Black Republicans, bought the *Washington Union*, and is now publishing it in the name of the Democratic party, and advocating Mr. Lincoln's election to the Senate. Mr. Lincoln, therefore, considers an attack upon Wendell and his corrupt gang as a personal attack upon himself. This only proves what I have charged, that there is an alliance between Lincoln and his supporters, and the Federal office-holders of this State, and Presidential aspirants out of it, to break me down at home.

"Mr. Lincoln feels bound to come in to the rescue of the *Washington Union*. In that speech which I delivered in answer to the *Washington Union*, I made it distinctly against the *Union*, and against the *Union* alone. I did not choose to go beyond that. If I have occasion to attack the President's conduct, I will do it in language that will not be misunderstood. When I differed with the President, I spoke out so that you all heard me. That question passed away; it resulted in the triumph of my principle, by allowing the people to do as they please, and there is an end of the controversy. Whenever the great principle of self-government—the right of the people to make their own constitution, and come into the Union with slavery or without, as they see proper—shall again rise, you will

find me standing firm in defense of that principle, and fighting whoever fights it. If Mr. Buchanan stands, as I doubt not he will, by the recommendation contained in his message, that hereafter all State constitutions ought to be submitted to the people before the admission of the State into the Union, he will find me standing by him firmly, shoulder to shoulder, in carrying it out. I know Mr. Lincoln's object; he wants to divide the Democratic party, in order that he may cheat me and get to the Senate."

Mr. Douglas' time here expired, and he stopped on the moment.

MR. LINCOLN'S REJOINDER.

"**MY FRIENDS:** It will readily occur to you that I cannot, in half an hour, notice all the things that so able a man as Judge Douglas can say in an hour and a half; and I hope, therefore, if there be anything that he has said upon which you would like to hear something from me, but which I omit to comment upon, you will bear in mind that it would be expecting an impossibility for me to go over his whole ground. I can but take up some of the points that he has dwelt upon, and employ my half hour specially on them.

"The first thing that I have to say to you, is a word in regard to Judge Douglas' declaration about the 'vulgarity and blackguardism' in the audience, that no such thing, as he says, was shown by any Democrat while I was speaking. Now, I only wish, by way of reply on this subject, to say that while I was speaking, *I* used no 'vulgarity or blackguardism' toward any Democrat.

"Now, my friends, I come to all this long portion of the Judge's speech—perhaps half of it—which he has devoted to the various resolutions and platforms that have been adopted in the different counties in the different Congressional districts, and in the Illinois Legislature, which he supposes are at variance with the positions I have assumed before you to-day. It is true that many of these resolutions are at variance with the positions I have here assumed. All I have to ask is, that we talk reasonably and rationally about it. I happen to know, the Judge's opinion to the contrary, notwithstanding, that I have never tried to conceal my opinions, nor tried to deceive any one in reference to them. He may go and examine all the members who voted for me for United States Senator in 1855,

after the election of 1854. They were pledged to certain things here at home, and were determined to have pledges from me, and if he will find any of these persons who will tell him anything inconsistent with what I say now, I will resign, or rather retire from the race, and give him no more trouble. The plain truth is this. At the introduction of the Nebraska policy, we believed there was a new era being introduced in the history of the Republic, which tended to the spread and perpetuation of slavery. But in our opposition to that measure we did not agree with one another in everything. The people in the north end of the State were for stronger measures of opposition than we of the central and southern portions of the State, but we were all opposed to the Nebraska doctrine. We had that one feeling and that one sentiment in common. You at the north end met in your conventions and passed your resolutions. We in the middle of the State and further south did not hold such conventions and pass the same resolutions, although we had, in general, a common view and a common sentiment. So that these meetings, which the Judge has alluded to, and the resolutions he has read from, were local, and did not spread over the whole State. We at last met together in 1856, from all parts of the State, and we agreed upon a common platform. You, who held more extreme notions, either yielded those notions, or, if not wholly yielding them, agreed to yield them practically, for the sake of embodying the opposition to the measures which the opposite party were pushing forward at that time. We met you then, and if there was anything yielded, it was for practical purposes. We agreed then upon a platform for the party throughout the entire State of Illinois, and now we are all bound, as a party, *to that platform*. And I say here to you, if any one expects of me—in the case of my election—that I will do anything not signified by our Republican platform and my answers here to-day, I tell you very frankly that person will be deceived. I do not ask for the vote of any one who supposes that I have secret purposes or pledges that I dare not speak out. Can not the Judge be satisfied? If he fears, in the unfortunate case of my election, that my going to Washington will enable me to advocate sentiments contrary to those which I expressed when you voted for and elected me, I assure him that his fears are wholly needless and groundless. Is the Judge really afraid of any such thing? I'll tell you what he is afraid of. *He is afraid we'll all pull together.* This is what alarms him

more than anything else. For my part, I do hope that all of us, entertaining a common sentiment in opposition to what appears to us a design to nationalize and perpetuate slavery, will waive minor differences on questions which either belong to the dead past or the distant future, and all pull together in the struggle. What are your sentiments? If it be true, that on the ground which I occupy—ground which I occupy as frankly and boldly as Judge Douglas does his—my views, though partly coinciding with yours, are not as perfectly in accordance with your feelings as his are, I do say to you, in all candor, go for him and not for me. I hope to deal in all things fairly with Judge Douglas, and with the people of the State, in this contest. And if I should never be elected to any office, I trust I may go down with no stain of falsehood upon my reputation, notwithstanding the hard opinions Judge Douglas chooses to entertain of me.

"The Judge has again addressed himself to the abolition tendencies of a speech of mine, made at Springfield in June last. I have so often tried to answer what he is always saying on that melancholy theme, that I almost turn with disgust from the discussion—from the repetition of an answer to it. I trust that nearly all of this intelligent audience have read that speech. If you have, I may venture to leave it to you to inspect it closely, and see whether it contains any of those 'bugaboos' which frighten Judge Douglas.

"The Judge complains that I did not fully answer his questions. If I have the sense to comprehend and answer those questions, I have done so fairly. If it can be pointed out to me how I can more fully and fairly answer him, I aver I have not the sense to see how it is to be done. He says I do not declare I would, in any event, vote for the admission of a slave State into the Union. If I have been fairly reported he will see that I did give an explicit answer to his interrogatories. I did not merely say that I would dislike to be put to the test; but I said clearly, if I were put to the test, and a Territory from which slavery had been excluded should present herself with a State Constitution sanctioning slavery,—a most extraordinary thing, and wholly unlikely to happen,—I did not see how I could avoid voting for her admission. But he refuses to understand that I said so, and he wants this audience to understand that I did not say so. Yet it will be so reported in the printed speech that he can not help seeing it.

"He says if I should vote for the admission of a slave State I would be voting for a dissolution of the Union, because I hold that the Union cannot permanently exist half slave and half free. I repeat that I do not believe this Government *can* endure permanently half slave and half free, yet I do not admit, or does it at all follow, that the admission of a single slave State will permanently fix the character and establish this as a universal slave Nation. The Judge is very happy indeed at working up these quibbles. Before leaving the subject of answering questions, I aver as my confident belief, when you come to see our speeches in print, that you will find every question which he has asked me more fairly and boldly and fully answered than he has answered those which I put to him. Is not that so? The two speeches may be placed side by side; and I will venture to leave it to impartial judges whether his questions have not been more directly and substantially answered than mine.

"Judge Douglas says he made a charge upon the editor of the Washington *Union*, *alone*, of entertaining a purpose to rob the States of their power to exclude slavery from their limits. I undertake to say, and I make the direct issue, that he did *not* make his charge against the *Union* alone. I will undertake to prove by the record here, that he made that charge against more and higher dignitaries than the editor of the Washington *Union*. I am quite aware that he was shirking and dodging around the form in which he put it, but I can make it manifest that he leveled his 'fatal blow' against more persons than this Washington editor. Will he dodge it now by alleging that I am trying to defend Mr. Buchanan against the charge? Not at all. Am I not making the same charge myself? I am trying to show that you, Judge Douglas, are a witness on my side. I am not defending Buchanan, and I will tell Judge Douglas that in my opinion, when he made that charge he had an eye farther north than he was to-day. He was then fighting against people who called *him* a Black Republican and an Abolitionist. It is mixed all through his speech, and it is tolerably manifest that his eye was a great deal farther north than it is to-day. The Judge says that though he made this charge, Toombs got up and declared there was not a man in the United States, except the editor of the *Union*, who was in favor of the doctrine put forth in that article. And thereupon, I understand that the Judge withdrew the charge. Although he had taken extracts from the newspaper,

and then from the Lecompton constitution, to show the existence of a conspiracy to bring about a 'fatal blow' by which the States were to be deprived of the right of excluding slavery, it all went to pot as soon as Toombs got up and told him it was not true. It reminds me of the story that John Phœnix, the California railroad surveyor, tells. He says they started out from Plaza to the Mission of Dolores. They had two ways of determining distances. One was by a chain and pins taken over the ground. The other was by a 'go-it-ometer,' an invention of his own—a three-legged instrument, with which he computed a series of triangles between the points. At night he turned to the chain-man to ascertain what distance they had come, and found that by some mistake he had merely dragged the chain over the ground without keeping any record. By the 'go-it-ometer' he found he had made ten miles. Being skeptical about this, he asked a drayman who was passing how far it was to the Plaza. The drayman replied that it was just half a mile, and the surveyor put it down in his book—just as Judge Douglas says, after he had made his calculations and computations, he took Toombs' statement. I have no doubt that after Judge Douglas had made his charge, he was as easily satisfied about its truth as the surveyor was of the drayman's statement of the distance to the Plaza. Yet it is a fact that the man who put forth all that matter which Douglas deemed a 'fatal blow' at State sovereignty, was elected by the Democrats as public printer.

"Now, gentlemen, you may take Judge Douglas' speech of March 22d, 1858, beginning about the middle of page 21, and reading to the bottom of page 24, and you will find the evidence on which I say that he did not make his charge against the editor of the *Union* alone. I can not stop to read it, but I will give it to the reporters. Judge Douglas said:

" 'Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly by the Washington *Union*, editorially and apparently *authoritatively*, and every man who questions any of them is denounced as an Abolitionist, a Freesoiler, a fanatic. The propositions are, first, that the primary object of all government at its original institution is the protection of persons and property; second, that the Constitution of the United States declares that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and that, therefore, thirdly, all State laws, whether organic or otherwise,

which prohibit the citizens of one State from settling in another with their slave property, and especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of the Government and Constitution of the United States; and fourth, that the emancipation of the slaves of the Northern States was a gross outrage on the rights of property, inasmuch as it was involuntarily done on the part of the owner.'

"Remember that this article was published in the *Union* on the 17th of November, and on the 18th appeared the first article giving the adhesion of the *Union* to the Lecompton constitution. It was in these words:

"'KANSAS AND HER CONSTITUTION.—The vexed question is settled. The problem is solved. The dread point of danger is passed. All serious trouble to Kansas affairs is over and gone'—

"And a column, nearly, of the same sort. Then, when you come to look into the Lecompton constitution, you find the same doctrine incorporated in it which was put forth editorially in the *Union*. What is it?

"'Article 7, section 1. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase, is the same and as invariable as the right of the owner of any property whatever.'

"Then in the schedule is a provision that the constitution may be amended after 1864 by a two-thirds vote.

"'But no alteration shall be made to affect the right of property in the ownership of slaves.'

"It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton constitution that they are identical in spirit with this *authoritative* article in the Washington *Union* of the day previous to its indorsement of this constitution.

"When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union.

"Here he says, 'Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly, and apparently *authoritatively*.' By whose authority, Judge Douglas? Again, he says in another place, 'It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton constitution, that they are identical in spirit with this *authoritative* article.' By whose

authority? Who do you mean to say authorized the publication of these articles? He knows that the Washington *Union* is considered the organ of the administration. I demand of Judge Douglas *by whose authority* he meant to say those articles were published, if not by the authority of the President of the United States and his cabinet? I defy him to show whom he referred to, if not to these high functionaries in the Federal Government. More than this, he says the articles in that paper and the provision of the Lecompton constitution are 'identical,' and being identical, he argues that the authors are co-operating and conspiring together. He does not use the word 'conspiring,' but what other construction can you put upon it? He winds up with this:

"'When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union.'

"I ask him if all this fuss was made over the editor of this newspaper. It would be a terribly 'fatal blow' indeed, which a single man could strike, when no President, no Cabinet officer, no member of Congress, was giving strength and efficiency to the movement. Out of respect to Judge Douglas' good sense, I must believe he didn't manufacture his idea of the 'fatal' character of that blow out of such a miserable scapegrace as he represents that editor to be. But the Judge's eye is farther south now. Then, it was very peculiarly and decidedly north. His hope rested on the idea of visiting the great 'Black Republican' party, and making it the tail of his new kite. He knows he was then expecting from day to day to turn Republican and place himself at the head of our organization. He has found that these despised 'Black Republicans' estimate him by a standard which he has taught them none too well. Hence he is crawling back into his old camp, and you will find him eventually installed in full fellowship among those whom he was then battling, and with whom he now pretends to be at such fearful variance. (Loud applause and cries of 'Go on, go on.') I can not, gentlemen, my time has expired."

There had been a disposition on the part of Mr. Lincoln's political friends to see that he adopted such a line of policy

as would prevent Mr. Douglas from taking an undue advantage of him. They had an idea that they knew more about conducting the campaign than Mr. Lincoln could possibly know; and when he propounded to Douglas the four questions embraced in his opening speech on this occasion, they felt that he had done just what Douglas wanted him to do, and they said to him that he had already as good as elected Douglas to the Senate. The unerring foresight of Lincoln was incomprehensible. His reply was: "That may be, but it will defeat him for the Presidency." So it proved, for it was the answers which Douglas gave to those questions which lost him the support of the South in the campaign of 1860, and this division of the Democratic party gave the Presidency to the Republicans.

In the eyes of the Nation, these men were regarded as intellectual giants; but while they were giants, there was as much difference between them on the issue they discussed, as there is between day and night. Douglas was ambitious for the Presidency, and really believed in the right of the people to hold colored men as slaves; and while in fact he was opposed to the further extension of slavery, yet he was in favor of allowing the people who framed the constitutions of the new States the right to settle the question for themselves. Lincoln, on the other hand, recognized slavery as a great moral wrong, but he also recognized the right of the owners of slaves to their property under existing laws, and was unwilling to disturb them in that right; yet he was unalterably opposed to the further extension of slavery. He was not an Abolitionist in the sense that Sumner, Giddings or Hale were held. There was no prejudice in his mind against the Southern people. There was nothing denunciatory in the language of his speeches. He held to the principle of equity in regard to the rights of the owners of slaves, which was

not possessed by any other leading man in the anti-slavery party. He sought justice for all men, and all sections, and it was these principles which finally won for him the leadership of the party which had fought the existence or extension of slavery in so many forms, and gave to him such a proud position in the statesmanship of the civilized world.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1859.

Governor—William H. Bissell.

Lieutenant-Governor—John Wood.

Secretary of State—O. M. Hatch.

Auditor of Public Accounts—Jesse K. Dubois.

Treasurer—William Butler.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—Newton Bateman.

TWENTY-FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Twenty-first General Assembly convened January 3, and consisted of the following members:

SENATE.

Norman B. Judd, Cook.	A. L. Knapp, Jersey.
Henry W. Blodgett, Lake.	C. W. Vanderen, Sangamon.
Zenas Applington, Ogle.	Joel S. Post, Macon.
J. H. Addams, Stephenson.	Sam'l W. Fuller, Tazewell.
Richard F. Adams, Lee.	T. A. Marshall, Coles.
G. D. A. Parks, Will.	Mortimer O'Kean, Jasper.
B. C. Cook, LaSalle.	Silas L. Bryan, Marion.
Geo. C. Bestor, Peoria.	S. A. Buckmaster, Madison.
T. J. Henderson, Stark.	Wm. H. Underwood, St.Clair.
Wm. C. Goudy, Fulton.	Sam'l H. Martin, White.
J. P. Richmond, Schuyler.	E. C. Coffey, Washington.
Austin Brooks, Adams.	A. J. Kuykendall, Johnson.
C. L. Higbee, Pike.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wm. A. Hacker, Union.
 Wm. H. Green, Massac.
 J. D. Pulley, Johnson,
 Thos. S. Hicks, Gallatin.
 J. Hampton, Franklin.
 J. E. Detrich, Randolph.
 J. D. Wood, Washington.
 J. McIlvaine, Hamilton,
 W. B. Anderson, Jefferson.
 John G. Powell, White.
 R. T. Forth, Wayne.
 W. R. Morrison, Monroe.
 John Scheel, St. Clair.
 Vital Jarrot, St. Clair.
 Chas. Hoiles, Bond.
 Z. B. Job, Madison.
 J. H. Sloss, Madison.
 S. Hardin, Effingham.
 W. J. Stephenson, Clay.
 H. C. McCleave, Crawford.
 J. Updegraff, Clark.
 T. Brewer, Cumberland.
 J. M. Davis, Montgomery.
 W. C. Shirley, Macoupin.
 F. P. Rush, Calhoun.
 Alex. King, Greene.
 Robt. Moseley, Edgar.
 Wm. W. Craddock, Coles.
 J. W. Barrett, Sangamon.
 Dan'l Short, Sangamon.
 Cyrus Epler, Morgan.
 Elisha B. Hitt, Scott.
 Gilbert J. Shaw, Pike.
 King Kerley, Brown.
 Moses M. Bane, Adams.
 Western Metcalf, Adams.
 Lewis D. Erwin, Schuyler.
 W. H. Rosevelt, Hancock.

Wm. Berry, McDonough.
 J. G. Graham, Fulton.
 S. P. Cummings, Fulton.
 Wm. Engle, Menard.
 Geo. H. Campbell, Logan.
 Dan'l Stickel, DeWitt.
 O. F. Harmon, Vermilion.
 Leonard Swett, McLean.
 R. B. M. Wilson, Tazewell.
 Wm. C. Rice, Henderson,
 Thos. C. Moore, Peoria.
 Myrtle G. Brace, Stark.
 J. S. McCall, Marshall.
 Alex. Campbell, LaSalle.
 R. S. Hicks, Livingston.
 Val. Vermilyea, Kendall.
 Hiram Norton, Will.
 Alonzo W. Mack, Kankakee.
 J. M. Hood, DuPage.
 Wm. Patton, DeKalb,
 Wm. B. Plato, Kane.
 John H. Bryant, Bureau.
 E. Gilmore, Jr., Rock Island.
 Wm. Prothrow, Whiteside.
 Joshua White, Ogle.
 James DeWolf, Carroll.
 H. S. Townsend, JoDaviess.
 J. A. Davis, Stephenson.
 E. W. Blaisdell, jr., Winnebago
 L. H. Church, McHenry.
 S. A. Hurlbut, Boone.
 Elijah M. Haines, Lake.
 Van H. Higgins, Cook.
 Samuel L. Baker, Cook.
 Ebenezer Peck, Cook.
 Casper Butz, Cook.
 Rufus W. Miles, Knox.

Lieutenant-Governor John Wood presided over the Senate, and Finney D. Preston, of Richland, was elected Secretary, over J. W. Schaffer, of Stephenson, by a vote of 14 to 11.

W. R. Morrison, of Monroe, was elected Speaker of the House, over Vital Jarrot, of St. Clair, by *vive voce* vote, and David E. Head, of Hancock, was elected Clerk, over Christopher C. Brown, of Sangamon, by a vote of 40 to 34.

Among the new members of this assembly who were able and active, were: Blodgett, Brooks, Higbee, Knapp, Marshall, Puckmaster, Hacker, Green, Thomas S. Hick, Swett, Mack, Plato, Bryant, Hurlbut, Peck.

The message of Governor Bissell was laid before the two houses on the 5th. He congratulated the General Assembly on the happy and prosperous condition of the State in these words:

"Each recurring session of our Legislature brings with it increasing cause of gladness at the rapid and marvelous advances which we, as the people of a sovereign State, are making in all the elements of National greatness. Our physical, intellectual and moral condition is advancing with a rapidity probably never equalled in any age, nor among any people on the globe. Our almost limitless prairies are being converted, as if by magic, into fertile and teeming fields, the produce of which, finding cheap and speedy transit over our magnificent rivers and railroads to the best markets in the world, is enriching our farmers, and creating and sustaining a healthful business in all the useful departments of life; while the steady and rapid multiplication of school houses, for the common as well as higher schools, throughout the State, give evidence, alike conclusive and gratifying, that the important matter of educating the rising generation is beginning to receive from our citizens that degree of attention which its real importance demands."

He showed that the State debt and the arrears of interest had been reduced during the years 1857-58, \$1,166,876.74, leaving a balance of principal and arrears of interest of \$11,138,453.93. He advised less legislation on private or trivial matters, and recommended that the laws enacted should be few and general. He recommended legislation in the interest of agriculture, the charitable institutions,

Normal University, public instruction, banking and other general subjects, such as a school for idiots, criminal code and the militia. On questions political he said:

"I took occasion in my first annual message to refer to disturbing questions which then agitated and continue to agitate the country. It is to be deplored that any question exists so important and yet so complex as to disturb the perfect amity which should prevail in a government constituted like ours.

"Instead of a decrease of causes of complaint, new subjects of a disturbing character are presented, until it would seem that a fixed determination prevails to deprave public sentiment, and accustom it to aggressions, until either through exhaustion or indifference all opposition to nationalizing slavery shall subside or become inert.

"The decision of the highest judicial tribunal known to our country, apparently designed to encourage the belief that slavery may and does of right lawfully exist in all the Territories, if not in all the States of the Union, was a backward step in the march of civilization, which has excited the surprise and regret of a very large portion of all the people of the Union.

"While the belief is inculcated that the hand of Providence has marked out a chosen boundary within which no other institutions than such as are sustained by human slavery can be prosperous or produce the results desirable for the promotion of human welfare, and while negroes are openly imported and landed on our coasts, in defiance of law, without any apparent probability of punishment for the outrage, or of preventing its recurrence, it may be vain to hope that any harmony will be very soon established in reference to this disturbing question.

"The public mind does not find in such action any immediate prospect of repose. The anomalous condition of things in this regard is an admonition to us that vigilance in the protection of human freedom and human rights should be quickened, or the permanent elevation and happiness of the white race will be endangered.

"To avoid the perils that surround our institutions, and to perpetuate freedom and extend the blessings of liberty designed and left us as an inheritance by our forefathers, it is important that we should not shrink from such a declaration of our opinions, and from such positive action as will effectually arrest further aggressions upon the laws of the Nation and the spirit of the Constitution.

"In an age so prone to misrepresentation as the present, our devotion to the Constitution and the Union cannot be too frequently nor too distinctly declared. In view of this, I cannot forbear placing upon record my protest, embodying, as I believe, the sentiment of the people of Illinois, against the idea and against any national policy conforming to the idea that the Almighty has drawn a line on this continent on one side of which the soil must be cultivated by slave labor."

On the 6th of January the Senate and House of Representatives met in joint session for the purpose of electing a United States Senator; Stephen A. Douglas received 54 votes and Abraham Lincoln 46. Douglas having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared duly elected for the term of six years, from March, 1859.

The duration of the session was fifty-two days. Outside of the election of Senator, there was little of an exciting nature, and the laws enacted, other than those which pertained to the carrying on of the State government and the institutions, were local in character. A joint resolution was passed asking Congress for the immediate construction of a building at Springfield, for the accommodation of United States courts, pension, land and post offices, and also a joint resolution recommending that at the next election for members of the General Assembly the electors vote for or against calling a convention to form a new constitution.

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

Four State Tickets—Four Electoral Tickets—Aggregate Vote for State Officers—Aggregate Vote for Congressmen, by Districts—Aggregate Vote for Electors—How Lovejoy Conquered Prejudice—An Attempt to Kidnap Richard Yates—How Lovejoy Helped the Democrats—Yates and the Kentucky Colonel—“It Made Our Very Hair Frizzle.”

The Republicans were early in opening the campaign. They assembled in State Convention on the 9th of May. Richard Yates was nominated for Governor, Francis A. Hoffman for Lieutenant-Governor, Jesse K. Dubois for Auditor, Wm. Butler for Treasurer, O. M. Hatch for Secretary of State, and Newton Bateman for Superintendent of Public Instruction. A resolution favoring the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President was unanimously adopted.

On the 13th of June the Democrats met at Springfield and nominated James C. Allen for Governor, L. W. Ross for Lieutenant-Governor, G. H. Campbell for Secretary of State, Bernard Arntzen for Auditor, Hugh Maher for Treasurer, and E. R. Roe for Superintendent of Public Instruction. They endorsed the candidacy of Stephen A. Douglas for the Presidency.

The Buchanan Democracy held their State convention at the same place, on the 11th of July, and nominated Thomas M. Hope for Governor, Thomas Snell for Lieutenant-Governor, B. T. Burke for Secretary of State, Henry S. Smith for Auditor, W. H. Cather for Treasurer, and

J. H. Dennis for Superintendent of Public Instruction. This convention was composed chiefly of Federal office holders.

The Bell and Everett party—Native American—held their State convention as late as August 16, at Decatur. John T. Stuart was nominated for Governor, Henry S. Blackburn for Lieutenant-Governor, James Monroe for Secretary of State, James D. Smith for Auditor, Jonathan Stamper for Treasurer, and D. J. Snow for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Democratic National Convention had assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, April 23, with full delegations from every State, and after fifty-seven ineffectual ballots for a candidate for President, seven of the Southern States withdrew, when the convention adjourned, to meet at Baltimore, June 18, at which Stephen A. Douglas was nominated for President, and B. Fitzpatrick, of Georgia, for Vice-President, but Fitzpatrick declined the nomination, and Hershell V. Johnson, of the same State, was substituted by the National Committee. The Seceders met in the same city, June 22, and nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for President, and Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for Vice-President.

A "Constitutional Union" convention from twenty States met at Baltimore, May 9, and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency.

The Republican National Convention assembled at Chicago, May 16, and nominated Abraham Lincoln for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President.

The novel spectacle of four State tickets and four Presidential tickets was presented to our people for the first and perhaps the last time.

The contest was remarkable in character. The four Presidential tickets made it necessary to present four sets

of State and District Electors, which, added to the candidates on the respective State tickets, presented an array of speaking talent that was never before, nor since, witnessed in any political struggle in our State. But the real issue was between the Republican party and the Douglas Democracy. Richard Yates was regarded as one of the ablest, if not the ablest and most impressive speakers in the country, while James C. Allen was as near his peer as any man within the Democratic lines. Each made an extended canvass, speaking day and night to congregated thousands of anxious hearers. The issue was National—the slavery question—and while Allen presented the views of his wing of the Democratic party with masterly ability, it was apparent that the popular heart in the more enlightened districts was with Yates, and that the people felt that the Republican party was not only progressive in character, but that it was sound in its theory as to the proper solution of the vexed question of slavery, and when the election returns came in it was shown that the Republicans had carried the Presidential and State tickets, and both branches of the Legislature. Yates run 1,090 ahead of Lincoln and Hamlin, and Allen 999 ahead of Douglas and Johnson. The Breckinridge and Lane vote was 2,292, and Bell and Everett 4,851. The Republican vote for President was 171,106, and the Douglas vote was 158,254.

The aggregate vote for State officers, Congressmen and Presidential Electors is as follows:

GOVERNOR.

Richard Yates.....	172,196
James C. Allen, D.....	159,253
T. M. Hope, B. D.....	2,049
John T. Stuart, B. E.....	1,626
Scattering.....	1,279

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

F. A. Hoffman, R.....	171,757
Lewis W. Ross, D.....	158,883
Thomas Snell, B. D.....	1,909
H. C. Blackburn, B. E.....	8,569
J. W. Bushnell.....	48
Scattering.....	86

SECRETARY OF STATE.

O. M. Hatch, R.....	172,836
G. H. Campbell, D.....	160,298
B. T. Burke, B. D.....	2,022
Jas. Monroe, B. E.....	3,459

AUDITOR.

J. K. Dubois, R.....	173,101
B. Arntzen, D.....	159,841
H. S. Smith, B. D.....	2,127
J. D. Smith, B. E.....	3,400

TREASURER.

Wm. Butler, R.....	172,622
Hugh Maher, D.....	160,923
W. H. Cather, B. D.....	1,967
Jonathan Stamper, B. E.....	3,417

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

N. Bateman, R.....	173,064
E. R. Roe, D.....	160,143
D. J. Snow, B. E.....	8,814
J. H. Dennis, B. D.....	1,998

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

Elihu Washburne, R.....	21,436
Theodore A. C. Beard.....	8,929
Scattering.....	14

SECOND DISTRICT.

Isaac N. Arnold, R.....	80,834
Augustus M. Herrington.....	16,950
Scattering.....	72

THIRD DISTRICT.

Owen Lovejoy, R.....	29,600
Robert N. Murray.....	18,843
William N. Murry.....	884
Scattering.....	69

FOURTH DISTRICT.

William Kellogg, R.....	25,668
Robt. G. Ingersoll.....	21,297
Scattering.....	15

FIFTH DISTRICT.

William A. Richardson, D.....	16,946
Benj. M. Prentiss.....	14,684
Scattering.....	20

SIXTH DISTRICT.

John A. McClernand, D.....	21,206
Henry Case.....	16,244
Scattering.....	7

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

James C. Robinson, D.....	19,206
Jas. T. Cunningham.....	16,313
Scattering.....	10

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Philip B. Fouke, D.....	16,592
Joseph Gillespie.....	13,315
Willis D. Green.....	129

NINTH DISTRICT.

John A. Logan, D.....	20,863
David T. Linegar.....	5,207
Scattering.....	165

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS—LINCOLN, R.

Leonard Swett.....	171,106
John M. Palmer.....	171,126
Allen C. Fuller.....	171,110
William B. Plato.....	171,137
Lawrence Welden.....	171,019
William P. Kellogg.....	171,029
James Stark	171,021

James C. Conkling.....	170,709
Henry P. H. Bromwell.....	171,021
Thomas G. Allen.....	171,035
John Olney.....	171,018

DOUGLAS, D.

James L. D. Morrison.....	158,254
William H. W. Cushman.....	158,257
John A. Rawlins.....	158,233
J. Wilson Drury.....	158,248
Samuel W. Randall.....	158,244
S. Corning Judd.....	158,246
Calvin A. Warren.....	158,247
Anthony Thornton.....	158,248
Nathan W. Tupper.....	158,248
William H. Underwood.....	158,246
Isham N. Haynie.....	158,244

BRECKINRIDGE, B. D.

John Dougherty.....	2,292
Thompson Campbell.....	2,292
William Shannon, Jr.....	2,292
John C. Ambler.....	2,292
Norman H. Purple.....	2,293
William C. Wagley.....	2,292
John L. McConnel.....	2,288
John E. Cummings.....	2,292
J. M. Hawley.....	2,111
John E. Neil.....	2,147
Justus Stevens.....	2,292

BELL, C. U.

M. Y. Johnson.....	4,851
David M. Woodson.....	4,803
H. S. Hanchett.....	4,819
John G. Rogers.....	4,811
Josiah Snow.....	4,798
Alexander J. Frick.....	4,811
C. M. Irwin.....	4,811
David A. Brown.....	4,811
John Kofer.....	4,811
L. Noland.....	4,809
W. J. Yost.....	4,770

How LOVEJOY CONQUERED PREJUDICE.

In this campaign, Gov. Palmer, then a Republican, and from early manhood an Abolitionist in principle, and always an outspoken friend of the colored race, refused to take the stump for the Republican ticket unless the Republican leaders would consent to send to his section some of the pronounced Abolitionists of the country, such as Sumner, Giddings, Hale or Lovejoy, contending that he had been the apologist for the views of these men as long as he wished; that as Republicans they could not longer disguise the fact that they were in reality Abolitionists, and he was in favor of meeting the issue fairly and squarely. Finally he overpowered the views of the local committee and an application was made to the State Central Committee for one or more of these speakers, and an appointment was made for Owen Lovejoy at Tegard's Mill, in the corner of the counties of Greene, Jersey and Macoupin. Norman B. Judd and John H. Bryant, brother of the poet, accompanied Mr. Lovejoy, but when they reached Carlinville, where they were to remain over night, none of the Republicans were willing to entertain Mr. Lovejoy, and Gov. Palmer, a recognized Abolitionist, was quietly requested to allow him to become his guest, which he did. Next day, when they arrived at the place of meeting, they found full five thousand people assembled, most of whom came through curiosity, simply to see the wonderful Abolitionist. In all that number it is said there were not five hundred Republicans. The stand from which Lovejoy was to speak had been boarded up on all sides, leaving only a doorway. A short time before the speaking was to begin, Mr. Palmer obtained an axe and walking deliberately into the stand said, in his pleasant off-hand way: "Gentlemen, we have with us today the wonderful Abolitionist, Owen Lovejoy; you have seen that he has neither horns nor tail, and now I will

allow you to see that he has no hoofs," at the same time knocking the boards from all sides of the stand so as to expose the person of Mr. Lovejoy to full view. The effect of this undreamed of proceeding put everybody in a good humor, and Mr. Lovejoy, humoring the fun Mr. Palmer had had at his expense, came forward with his face wreathed in smiles and commenced his address without a thought as to the character of his audience, speaking for over two hours; and it is said by those who had heard him on many occasions before that he never made a more effective speech in his life. There were a thousand people in tears. He had conquered prejudice, simply by his power of eloquence. That night there was no trouble about his getting shelter.

AN ATTEMPT TO KIDNAP RICHARD YATES.

This campaign was one of the most hotly contested struggles ever witnessed in Southern Illinois, and the incident of which we write occurred in Gallatin county, which was then regarded as the fountain head of pure Democracy. It had been the early home of many of the great lights of the party, and every attempt to dispute its authority was regarded as an invasion of sacred rights. Indeed, the people were so devoted to the cause of the Democracy, that an outspoken Republican was held in extreme contempt. But in this campaign the political world was moving, and the Democracy were thoroughly aroused to the necessity of disputing every inch of ground with their Republican adversary. The Republicans, few as they were in number, were equally in earnest, and there was hot blood in every quarter. The Democracy opened the campaign at Shawneetown with a grand barbecue. It was a great meeting, and was addressed by Gov. A. P. Willard of Indiana, John A. Logan, candidate for Congress, and Lewis W. Ross, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, in the order in which their names appear.

The speech of Mr. Willard, who at that time was regarded as the ablest and most eloquent champion of the Democratic party of the Northwest, was a powerful arraignment of the Republican party, and it caused many of the new converts to waver in their devotion to the cause they had so lately espoused, and to have judged the situation from the temper of that meeting would have been to predict a signal victory for the Democratic party. But weak as the Republicans were, they were not to be overwhelmed by this single blow, and they set themselves about to hold a similar meeting upon the identical spot. Preparations were made for a barbecue, and a cordial invitation was extended to the people from far and near to be present, and hear Republican principles discussed from a Republican standpoint. Richard Yates, the Republican candidate for Governor, was positively announced to address the meeting. He was then in the very prime of manhood. The Democrats were afraid of his power on the stump, and it was determined by a few of the most daring of that party, that he should be kidnapped, and thus prevent his appearance at the meeting. (The writer was then a resident of Galatin county, and was one of those who did not wish to hear Mr. Yates speak.) He had spoken the day before at Carmi. The road on which he was expected to arrive was carefully guarded, and every precaution taken to make sure of his capture. An all-night watch was kept up, but in an unguarded moment the sentinels slept, and Yates, unconscious of their designs upon his liberty, arrived safely during the night in company with Robert Kirkham, (now Colonel) and next day he appeared in due time as the fearless champion of the Republican party. The meeting was fully as large as that held by the Democracy, but there were comparatively few Republicans present. Many came through curiosity; others for mischief. Yates had

hardly taken his seat on the stand before a series of hideous groans rent the air. But when the speaker was formally introduced the noise and confusion knew no bounds, and it continued until Daniel Jacobs, a life-long Democrat, mounted a spring wagon which stood in the midst of the throng, and declared in a tone loud enough to be heard by all, that the distinguished speaker should be heard, or he himself would be taken from the grounds a corpse and then and there, announced his abandonment of the Democratic party. This bold and daring declaration brought order out of confusion, when Mr. Yates proceeded with his address without further interruption, save an occasional question from some of the *advanced thinkers* of the Democratic party as to his position upon the "black laws" and negro equality, subjects which were the stock in trade of the Democratic leaders of that section. But time brings many changes in politics. Some of the very men who were foremost in the effort to break up that meeting are now leaders in the Republican party; and the name of Yates is held in dear remembrance by many who heard him on that memorable occasion.

How Lovejoy HELPED THE DEMOCRATS.

In this campaign, James S. Martin, now General, of Salem, was a Democrat, and being anxious to swell the Democratic vote of Marion county, he proposed to the Republican leaders that if they would get up a meeting for Owen Lovejoy, that the Democrats would assist in defraying the expenses. Relating the circumstance to the writer, he said Lovejoy had not proceeded far with his address before the Democrats became satisfied that they had made a bad investment. The speech, said he, was one of the finest he ever listened to, and that when referring to the unfortunate condition of the down-trodden negro, he brought tears to the eyes of strong men whose Democracy was thought to

be unflinching, and instead of augmenting the Democratic vote, it added new followers to the Republican cause.

YATES AND THE KENTUCKY COLONEL.

This anecdote of Gov. Yates comes from an eye-witness:

After making a speech at Shawneetown, to which reference has been made, Yates took a steamer for Evansville, Ind. On the boat Col. C——, of Kentucky, walked up in front of him, and in a haughty and insulting manner said:

"I heard your speech to-day, sir; you insulted our people, sir! Now, by Jupiter, I'll let you know I am a Kentuckian, sir! And, by Jupiter, I will teach you—"

Yates sprang up without waiting for the end of the sentence, and exclaimed:

"And I'll let you know *I* am a Kentuckian, too, 'by Jupiter,' and if you propose to teach me anything, open your school right now, sir, and we will see who is master in that school!"

The Kentucky Colonel was not prepared for so much ready courage on the part of the Republican champion, and abruptly left Yates master of the situation, to the utter delight of many of the passengers.

"IT MADE OUR VERY HAIR FRIZZLE."

This amusing incident in the campaign of 1860 has never been in print. The Democracy of Gallatin county advertised a great meeting at New Market; the presence of many eminent speakers had been promised, but to the surprise of all, none of them appeared, and their places had to be filled by home talent, among which was James B. Turner, then a young lawyer of promise, and afterward a member of the General Assembly. The burden of Turner's speech was against Richard Yates, the Republican candidate for Governor. His purpose was to show that Yates was in favor of negro equality, and to prove this he cited the fact that Yates, when in the Legislature, had favored

"bank laws." "A motion," said he, "had been made to lay a bill on the table, and the journals had recorded in the negative. Now, fellow members, can't you tell me what effect a bill has on a table. I happened to have a hair frizzled. I happened to be in a lobby and patriotic Senator A. of the United States Senate and my hair frizzled when the result of the vote was left the subject, leaving it to the effect of a motion to lay a bill on the table to make the hair frizzled."

CHAPTER IV.

LAW GOVERNMENT.

Bard H. Moore—James A. Hoffman.
John M. Hatch.
John Monte—George K. Dibbles.
W. C. Miller.
Police Instruction—Neville Bateman.
The General Assembly convened at Springfield March 15, 1860, when John T. Adams was elected Governor until the election and John Yates, January 14, 1861.

SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Second General Assembly convened on Monday, January 14, 1861, and consisted of the following members:



Your friend
Rich. L. Atch

SENATE.

Wm. B. Ogden, Cook.
 Henry W. Blodgett, Lake.
 Zenas Applington, Ogle.
 J. H. Addams, Stephenson.
 Richard F. Adams, Lee.
 A. W. Mack, Kankakee.
 W. Bushnell, LaSalle.
 Geo. C. Bestor, Peoria.
 T. J. Pickett, Rock Island.
 Wm. Berry, McDonough.
 J. P. Richmond, Schuyler.
 Austin Brooks, Adams.
 C. L. Higbee, Pike.

A. L. Knapp, Jersey.
 Wm. Jayne, Sangamon.
 R. J. Oglesby, Macon.
 Henry E. Dummer, Cass.
 Thos. A. Marshall, Coles.
 P. Funkhouser, Effingham.
 Zadok Casey, Jefferson.
 S. A. Buckmaster, Madison.
 W. H. Underwood, St. Clair.
 Hugh Gregg, Williamson.
 Jas. M. Rodgers, Clinton.
 A. J. Kuykendall, Johnson.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wm. A. Hacker, Union.
 Wm. H. Green, Massac.
 Jas. D. Pulley, Johnson.
 William Elder, Saline.
 Peter Keifer, Jackson.
 E. Faherty, Randolph.
 Orson Kellogg, Perry.
 Cloyd Crouch, Hamilton.
 C. W. Webster, Marion.
 James M. Sharp, White.
 Nathan Crews, Wayne.
 H. C. Talbott, Monroe.
 Vital Jarrot, St. Clair.
 Samuel Stookey, St. Clair.
 Joshua P. Knapp, Clinton.
 Cyrus Edwards, Madison.
 G. Crownover, Madison.
 F. H. Stoddard, Fayette.
 Isaac H. Walker, Clay.
 Aaron Shaw, Crawford.
 John Scholfield, Clark.
 Thos. W. Harris, Shelby.
 H. M. Vandeveer, Christian.
 J. T. Pennington, Macoupin.
 John N. English, Jersey.
 Benj. Baldwin, Greene.
 N. B. Stage, Edgar.
 Smith Nichols, Coles.
 S. M. Cullom, Sangamon.

N. M. Broadwell, Sangamon.
 Isaiah Turney, Morgan.
 Albert G. Burr, Scott.
 Wm. R. Archer, Pike.
 Benj. F. DeWitt, Brown.
 J. W. Singleton, Adams.
 W. C. Harrington, Adams.
 Lewis D. Erwin, Schuyler.
 W. H. Rolloson, Hancock.
 S. H. McCandless, M'Donough
 John G. Graham, Fulton.
 S. P. Cummings, Fulton.
 Frederick Rearick, Menard.
 Robert B. Latham, Logan.
 Lawrence Weldon, DeWitt.
 Samuel G. Craig, Vermilion.
 Harvey Hogg, McLean.
 David Kyes, Tazewell.
 Wm. C. Maley, Warren.
 E. G. Johnson, Peoria.
 Theodore F. Hurd, Stark.
 Henry D. Cook, Woodford.
 A. J. Cropsey, LaSalle.
 J. W. Newport, Grundy.
 V. Vermilyea, Kendall.
 Franklin Blades, Iroquois.
 Samuel Storer, Will.
 F. H. Mather, DuPage.
 Edward R. Allen, DeKalb.

Thos. S. Terry, Kane.	A. A. Hale, Winnebago.
J. W. Harris, Bureau.	S. A. Hurlbut, Boone.
R. W. Smith, Rock Island.	L. S. Church, McHenry.
George Ryan, Lee.	Elijah M. Haines, Lake.
Francis A. McNeal, Ogle.	J. Y. Scammon, Cook.
Benj. L. Patch, Carroll.	Wm. H. Brown, Cook.
J. R. Jones, Jo Daviess.	S. M. Wilson, Cook.
*R. H. McClellan, Jo Daviess.	Homer Wilmarth, Cook.
J. F. Ankeny, Stephenson.	Arthur A. Smith, Knox.

The Republicans had a majority in both houses. When the Senate met, A. J. Kuykendall was elected temporary Chairman, and C. W. Waite Secretary *pro tempore*, when the Senate proceeded to elect permanent officers. Thomas A. Marshall was elected Speaker over A. J. Kuykendall by a vote of 12 to 9. C. W. Waite was elected Secretary over E. S. Dennis, by a vote of 13 to 10. On the qualification of Mr. Hoffman as Lieutenant-Governor, he became Speaker of the Senate.

Shelby M. Cullom was elected Speaker of the House, over James W. Singleton, by a vote 39 to 29. Harley Wayne was elected Clerk, over M. B. Harrell, by a vote of 40 to 32.

This was the first time in the history of the State where any party, other than the Democratic, had had a majority in both branches of the Legislature. In 1855 Mr. Trumbull was elected United States Senator, over Gen. Shields, by a fusion of the anti-Kansas-Nebraska Democrats with the Whigs, but the Whigs had not the ascendancy in either house, and the Democrats dominated the legislation of the session.

Of the prominent members, and those to attain prominence of the two houses, there were among the new members: Ogden, Bushnell, Jayne, Oglesby, Casey, Underwood, Kuykendall, Edwards, Shaw, Scholfield, Cullom, Burr, Archer, Singleton, Weldon, Blades, Jones, McClellan, Haines, Scammon.

*Vice J. Russell Jones, resigned.

Joint resolutions of respect were adopted on the death of Gov. Bissell.

The administration of Mr. Bissell was marked with moderation and wisdom, and he gave his undivided attention to the discharge of the duties of his trust. He was born in New York, April 25, 1811; he was self-educated; he studied medicine, and graduated in 1834 at the Medical College in Philadelphia; he removed to Illinois, and after practicing his profession until 1840, was elected a Representative in the Legislature; he studied law, and was admitted to the bar, and in 1844 was elected Prosecuting Attorney; he served with distinction in the Mexican war; he was a Representative in Congress from 1849 to 1855.

On the January 9, the message of Gov. Wood was read in the two houses. It showed that there had been paid off the State debt, from January, 1857, to January, 1861, \$2,860,402.49, and that there were in existence one hundred and ten banks, with a circulation of \$12,320,964. He recommended legislation which would better secure the bill-holder; advocated the calling of a convention to frame a new constitution; suggested the reorganization of the militia, and additional legislation in the interests of the public schools.

Of the conflict of sentiment between the North and the South, which was fast ripening into real war, he said:

"The people of Illinois deem the constitution which clasps these States as no temporary bond—to be worn and loosed at will—but as an eternal covenant, framed by wise and patriotic men, fraught with all our past glory; all our present happiness; all our future hope; and bequeathed as a sacred trust, demanding our unceasing efforts for its protection and perpetuation. We can imagine, in the severance of this government, no advantage to us, to our countrymen, to humanity, that would in the least degree compensate for the flood of evils that must pour in upon us in such an event. If grievances to any portion of our confederation have arisen within the Union,

within the Union let them be redressed. If unconstitutional laws, trenching upon the guaranteed rights of any of our sister States, have found a place upon our statute books, let them be removed. If prejudice and alienation towards any of our fellow-countrymen has fastened upon our minds, let it be dismissed and forgotten. Let us be just to ourselves and to each other—allowing neither threats to drive us from what we deem to be our duty, nor pride of opinion prevent us correcting wherein we may have been wrong. Demands are being made, from quarters entitled to respect, that laws tending to obstruct the operation of Federal authority, conflicting with the constitutional rights, and jarring upon the feelings of other States, should be repealed. If Illinois, either by inadvertence or design, has passed any such act, justice requires that it should be at once corrected. Speaking not merely for myself, soon to pass into a private station, but reflecting what I assume to be the voice of the whole people of Illinois, irrespective of party, adopt the sentiment of President Jackson: ‘The Federal Union: it must be preserved.’”

Richard Yates, the incoming Governor, was inaugurated on the 14th of January, in the presence of the two houses, and read in person his inaugural address. After giving attention to the passage of measures relating to the vital interests of the State, he addressed himself in this bold and patriotic manner to national questions:

“ Whatever may have been the divisions of parties hitherto, the people of Illinois will with one accord give their assent and firm support to two propositions:

“ First—That obedience to the Constitution and the laws must be insisted upon, and enforced, as necessary to the existence of the government.

“ Second—That the election of a Chief Magistrate of the Nation, in strict conformity with the Constitution, is no sufficient cause for the release of any State from any of its obligations to the Union.

“ This Union cannot be dissolved by one State, nor by the people of one State, or of a dozen States. This government was designed to be perpetual, and can be dissolved only by revolution.

“ Can it be for a moment supposed that the people of the valley of the Mississippi will ever consent that the great river shall flow for hundreds of miles through a

foreign jurisdiction, and they be compelled, if not to fight their way in the faces of forts frowning upon its banks, to submit to the imposition and annoyance of arbitrary taxes and exorbitant duties to be levied upon their commerce? I believe that before that shall come, either shore of the Father of Waters will be a continuous sepulchre of the slain, and with all its cities in ruins, and the cultivated fields upon its sloping sides laid waste, it shall roll its foaming tide in solitary grandeur, as at the dawn of creation. I know I speak for Illinois, and I believe for the Northwest, when I declare them a unit in the unalterable determination of her millions, occupying the great basin drained by the Mississippi, to permit no portion of that stream to be controlled by a foreign jurisdiction.

"As to compromise, if it means that we must outrage the sentiment of the civilized world by conceding that slavery is a blessing—that we must love and praise it; that we may not hope for its ultimate extinction; that it may go into the free Territories, under the protection of the Constitution—if these are the grounds upon which the difficulties are to be settled, then they never will be settled. Plainness and truth require us to say, that the only pacification to which the people of this State could accede, would be upon the principles upon which Mr. Lincoln was elected; that the Constitution must be obeyed, as it is; all its provisions enforced, according to a fair and honest interpretation of its meaning; and that slavery is a local and State institution, and nothing else. . . .

"South Carolina, however, claims the right to the forts of the United States, and to collect revenue from imports. Now, to open the ports of Charleston to free trade is to open the whole country to free trade. Merchandise, once in the Union, can be transported to any part of the Republic. If South Carolina can open one port, she can all; and she is not only sovereign at home, but throughout the Nation—a position not soon to be conceded to a State which has not so many white inhabitants as one of the Congressional districts in the State of Illinois. Now, if South Carolina disunionists shall be guilty of the stupendous madness of resisting the United States officers in the collection of the revenue, can there be any doubt that the Government will have to use as much force as is necessary to enforce these laws? If Gen. Washington, at the head of the United States Army in 1796, put down the Pennsylvania whisky rebellion; if Gen. Jackson, in 1832, quelled resistance to law by his proclamation of force; if

Mr. Fillmore executed the Fugitive Slave Law at the point of the bayonet in the streets of Boston; if Mr. Buchanan, in 1859, called out the United States Army to put down the seizure of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, what shall be done with those who defiantly obstruct the execution of the laws at Charleston? If the laws are not executed, then the Government is a failure.

"I know not what the exigencies of the future may be, nor what remedies it may be necessary to use, but the administration of the incoming President, I have no doubt, will be characterized by wisdom as well as firmness. He certainly will not forget that the people of all the United States, whether loyal or not, are citizens of the same Republic, component parts of the same integral Union. He never will forget, so long as he remembers his official oath, that the whole material of the Government—moral, political and physical, if need be—must be employed to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. In such an event as this, I hesitate not to say that the General Assembly, without a dissenting voice, and the people of Illinois, would unanimously pledge the men and means of the State to uphold the Constitution and preserve the Union. To those who would distrust the loyalty of the American people to the Union, let the spontaneous response of the National heart, borne upon ten thousand streams of lightning to the heroic Anderson, answer."

The two houses met in joint session January 10, and re-elected Lyman Trumbull United States Senator, over Samuel S. Marshall, by a vote of 54 to 46.

Among the more important measures enacted by this Legislature, were acts to protect married women in their separate property against the debts of their husbands; to encourage mining; to foster public schools; to authorize and facilitate the payment of certain scrip, coupons, certificates and other evidences of State indebtedness; to provide for the payment of interest on the State debt; to prevent illegal voting; to provide for calling a convention to amend the Constitution. A joint resolution was passed relating to the appointment of peace commissioners at Washington; resolutions of respect on the death of Gov.

Bissell, and resolutions relating to Federal Relations, in which it was declared that, although the people of Illinois did not desire any change in the Federal Constitution, yet, as several of the sister States had deemed it necessary that some amendments should be made thereto, that if the application should be made to Congress by any of the States deeming themselves aggrieved, to call a convention in accordance with the constitutional provision to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States, that the Legislature of Illinois would concur in making such application, but it was further declared, "that until the people of these United States shall otherwise direct, the present Federal Union must be preserved as it is, and the present Constitution and laws must be administered as they are; and, to this end, in conformity with that Constitution and the laws, the whole resources of the State of Illinois are hereby pledged to the Federal authorities."

SPECIAL SESSION.

The members of this General Assembly had hardly returned to their homes and become settled in their ordinary vocations of life, before they were convened in extraordinary session, to pass measures to aid the Nation in preserving its life. On the 14th of April, the rebels fired upon Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, and compelled its surrender, whereupon President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for 75,000 soldiers to put down the insurrection, and repossess and preserve the property of the government. Gov. Yates convened the General Assembly on the 23d of April, for the purpose of passing such laws as might be deemed necessary to place the State in a condition to render effective assistance to the General Government in preserving the Union, enforcing the laws, and protecting the property and rights of the people. His message to the assembly was full of stirring

patriotism, and filled every loyal heart with gladness. The sword, said he, was drawn not in a spirit of revenge, but clearly and unmistakably in self-defense and for the preservation of the Union. Referring to the public sentiment of the people of the North prior to the assault upon Fort Sumter, and the consequences to follow, he said:

"Public sentiment was everywhere, in the free States, for peace and compromise. No better proof could be required, than the facts I have stated, that the conspiracy, which has now assumed such formidable dimensions, and which is threatening the destruction of the fairest fabric of human wisdom and human liberty, is of long standing, and is wholly independent of the election of a particular person to the Presidential office, than the manner in which the seceded States have acted toward their loyal brethren of the South and North since they have entered upon their criminal enterprise. We must do them, however, the justice to say, that all their public documents and all the speeches of their controlling leaders candidly admit that the Presidential election has not been the cause for their action, and that they were impelled by far different motives.

"So forbearing and pacific has been the policy of the Federal Government—anxiously hoping for a return to reason in the minds of our Southern brethren—that they were suffered to erect their batteries in the jaws of our guns at Sumter, finally losing to us that strong fortress, by the most unexampled forbearance and reluctance to the shedding the blood of our countrymen; and a simple attempt, on the part of our constitutional Government, to provision a starving garrison in one of our ports, of which the revolutionary authorities had received official notice from the Government, has been made the occasion for a destructive bombardment of that fort. Overpowered by numbers, our gallant men had to lower our glorious flag, and surrender on terms dictated by rebels.

"The spirit of a free and brave people is aroused at last. Upon the first call of the constitutional Government they are rushing to arms. Fully justified in the eyes of the world and in the light of history, they have resolved to save the Government of our fathers, to preserve the Union so dear to a thousand memories and promising so much of happiness to them and their children, and to bear aloft the flag which for eighty-five years had gladdened the

hearts of the struggling free on every continent, island and sea under the whole heavens. Our own noble State, as of yore, has responded in a voice of thunder. The entire mass is alive to the crisis. If, in Mexico, our Hardin, and Shields, and Bissell, and Baker, and their gallant comrades, were found closest to their colors, and in the thickest of the fight, and shed imperishable lustre upon the fame and glory of Illinois, now that the struggle is for our very nationality, and for the stars and stripes, her every son will be a soldier and bare his breast to the storm of battle.

"The attack upon Fort Sumter produced a most startling transformation on the Northern mind—awakened a sleeping giant, and served to show, as no other event in all the history of the past ever did, the deep-seated fervor and affection with which our whole people regard our glorious Union. Party distinctions vanished, as a mist, in a single night, as if by magic; and parties and party platforms were swept as a morning dream from the minds of men, and now men of all parties, by thousands, are begging for places in the ranks. The blood of twenty millions of freemen boils, with cauldron heat to replace our national flag upon the very walls whence it was insulted, and by traitor hands pulled down. Every village and hamlet resounds with beat of drum and clangor of arms. Three hundred thousand men wait the click of the wires for marching orders, and all the giant energies of the Northwest are at the command of the Government. Those who have supposed that the people of the free States will not fight for the integrity of the Union, and that they will suffer another government to be carved out of the boundaries of this Union, have hugged a fatal delusion to their bosoms, for our people will wade through seas of blood before they will see a single star or a solitary stripe erased from the glorious flag of our Union.

"The services already tendered me, in my efforts to organize troops, provide means, arms and provisions, by distinguished members of the party hitherto opposed to me in political sentiments, are beyond all praise, and are, by me, in behalf of the State, most cheerfully acknowledged. There are now more companies received than are needed under the Presidential call, and almost unlimited numbers have formed and are forming, awaiting further orders. A single inland county (LaSalle) tenders nine full companies, and our principal city (Chicago) has responded with contributions of men and money worthy of her fame

for public spirit and patriotic devotion. Nearly a million of money has been offered to the State, as a loan, by our patriotic capitalists and other private citizens, to pay the expenses connected with the raising of our State troops, and temporarily providing for them.

"Civil war, it must be confessed, is one of the greatest calamities which can befall a people. And such a war! It is said 'when Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war.' When American shall meet American—when the fiery, impetuous valor of the South shall come in contact with the cool, determined bravery of the North, then blood will flow to the horses' bridles. Would that the calamity might be averted! But the destruction of our government is a far greater evil. A government which is the hope of the world—promising more of happiness to us and our children and the millions who are to come after us, and to the struggling free in every land, than any government ever invented by man, *must not, shall not be destroyed.*

"A government that submits to peaceable secession signs its own death warrant. What would be left of our Union? No matter how many States it might for the present still comprise—this would give us not a moment's guarantee against further dissolution, if the right to secede once were peaceably tolerated. Government is established for the protection of rights and property, and when built upon the principle of voluntary dissolution, it ceases to furnish that protection; it ceases to be a government under which national men can live.

"We draw the sword then, not in a spirit of indignation or revenge, but clearly and unmistakably in self-defense, and in the protection of our rights, our liberty and security, for property—in a word, for the nearest and dearest interests of ourselves and our posterity. I have thus spoken, because an impression may still prevail in the minds of some, that this conflict was one of our own seeking, and one which might have been avoided without any imminent danger to the yet loyal parts of the country. *This is not so. Secession has brought about its inevitable results, and we must crush it and treason, wherever they raise their unsightly heads, or perish ourselves.*

"And now, as we love our common country, in all its parts, with all its blessings of climate and culture; its mountains, valleys and streams; as we cherish its history and the memory of the world's only Washington; as we love our free civilization, striking its roots deep down into

those principles of truth and justice eternal as God; as we love our government so free, our institutions so noble, our boundaries so broad; as we love our grand old flag, 'sign of the free heart's only home,' that is cheered and hailed in every sea and haven of the world, let us resolve that we will preserve that Union and those institutions, and that there shall be no peace till the traitorous and bloody palmetto shall be hurled from the battlements of Sumter, and the star-spangled banner in its stead wave defiantly in the face of traitors, with every star and every stripe flaming from all its ample folds.

"Gentlemen, I commend the destiny of our noble and gallant State, in this its hour of peril, to your wise and patriotic deliberations, and prudent and determinate action. May the God of our fathers, who guided our Washington throughout the trying scenes of the Revolution, and gave to our fathers strength to build up our sacred Union, and to frame a government which has been the center of our affections and the admiration of the world, be still with us, and preserve our country from destruction.

"In the firm belief that we are in the hands of a Supreme ruling power, whose will is wisdom, let us manfully maintain our rights, and our Constitution and Union, to the last extremity. Let us so act that our children and children's children, when we are laid in the dust, will hold us in grateful remembrance, and will bless our memories, as we do now bless the heroes and patriots who achieved our independence, and transmitted to us the priceless heritage of American liberty."

On the 25th of April, Senator Douglas, in response to a joint resolution, addressed the assembly in the hall of the House of Representatives on the issues of the hour. The hall was filled to overflowing, and the speech was the bravest and best of all the great efforts of that gifted and patriotic statesman, from which a liberal extract will be found in a subsequent chapter.

The two houses proceeded without circumlocution to transact the business for which they had been called together, and adjourned on the 3d of May, being in session only ten days; and returning home, many of the members volunteered in defense of their country's flag.

CHAPTER X.

SECESSION—PROSECUTION OF THE WAR.

Extracts from Speeches of Senator Trumbull and Representative McClellan, Delivered in the Senate and House, January, 1861—Extracts from War Speeches made by Owen Lovejoy, J. F. Farnsworth and Isaac N. Arnold,* at Chicago, August 8, 1862.

SPEECH OF LYMAN TRUMBULL.

"MR. PRESIDENT—It has been very hard for me, and, I doubt not, my Republican associates around me, to bear the many misapprehensions, not to say misstatements, of our position, and to see a perverted state of facts day after day urged upon the Senate and the country by gentlemen upon the other side. We have listened to the Senator from Mississippi; and one would suppose, in listening to him here, that he was a friend of this Union, that he desired the perpetuity of this Government. He has a most singular way of preserving it, and a most singular way of maintaining the Constitution. What is it? Why, he proposes that the Government should abdicate. If it will simply withdraw its forces from Charleston, and abdicate in favor either of a mob or of the constituted authorities of Charleston, we will have peace! He dreads civil war, and he will avoid it by a surrender! He talks as if we Republicans were responsible for civil war if it ensues. If civil war comes, it comes from those with whom he is acting. Who proposes to make civil war but South Carolina? Who proposes to make civil war but Mississippi, and Alabama, and Georgia, seizing, by force of arms, upon the public property of the United States? Talk to us of making civil war! You inaugurate it, and then talk of it as if it came from the friends of the Constitution and the Union. Here stands this great Government; here stands the Union—a pillar, so to speak, already erected.

* Mr. ARNOLD died at Chicago, his home, on Thursday, April 24, 1884—while this book was passing through the press.

Do we propose to pull it down? Do we propose undermining the foundations of the Constitution or disturbing the Union? Not at all; but the proposition comes from the other side. They are making war, and modestly ask us to have peace by submitting to what they ask.

"It is nothing but rebellion; it is nothing but insurrection. But not only in South Carolina, where there was the pretense of secession to justify the act, which, I think, really amounts to nothing, but in Georgia and Alabama, which have not seceded, we are told that the public property of the United States has been seized; and the Senator from Mississippi thinks the best way to avoid civil war is for the United States to withdraw their forces, to surrender their forts, and strike the flag under which he was nurtured, and beneath which he has marched so often. The Stars and Stripes have been taken down from the United States buildings in the city of Charleston, and trampled in the dust, and a palmetto flag with a snake, reared in their place; but if we would avoid civil war, we are told, we must submit to this! Why, sir, any people can have peace at the price of degradation. No despot makes war upon subjects who submit their necks to the tread of his heel. But if we would maintain constitutional liberty; if we would maintain constitutional freedom; if we would maintain this great Government, we must not suffer every faction, and every mob, and every State, that thinks proper, to trample its flag under foot. . . .

"Sir, it is clear to my mind that this doctrine of secession is utterly destructive of a constitutional government. On the same principle, a county may secede from a State, and a town from a county. The Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden) has been talking about compromises, and has introduced a string of resolutions here. When they are adopted, what is your Government good for? What is to prevent the State of Illinois next week, or the State of Kentucky the following week, from seceding, as South Carolina has done, and demanding new guarantees as a condition of the existence of the Union? By submitting to this doctrine, you destroy the stability of the Government. Constitutional governments are worth nothing if this doctrine is to obtain; and hence it is that those of us who are for sustaining the Constitution and sustaining the Union, believe that the question involved is the existence of constitutional government. We now have nothing to do with the extension of African slavery—that is not the

question before the American people; but the question is, 'Has this Government any power to protect itself?' In other words, have we a Government at all? That is what is to be tested. The people of Illinois believe we have a Government, and a Government that has power to maintain itself, not by making civil war, but by enforcing the laws, and defending itself against those who would make war upon it.

"But, sir, what is the cause of this complaint? Why is it that the Southern States are inaugurating civil war? I have as much horror for it as the Senator from Mississippi. I would do anything honorable to avoid it. I certainly will not be the instrument to inaugurate it. But what is it the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Davis) complains of? To use his language, he says, if you are to make us hewers of wood and drawers of water for you in the North, we will not submit. If they are to be reduced to subjection to the North, they will not submit. I do not ask them to do so. So far as I am concerned, I will ask them to submit to nothing that I will not submit to myself. I ask to impose no inequality upon the State of Mississippi.

"Now, sir, my idea of preserving the peace of this country, and of the duty which is devolved upon us here, is not what we should yield, as the Senator from Mississippi suggests, to the threats and demands of States which say that they want no compromise, and want no concessions, and are determined to set up for themselves, and expel the Federal Government from their borders; but that we should rally around the Constitution, and enforce the laws under it; and then, not when States come here threatening civil war, not when our vessels are fired into, not when our forts are taken possession of, but when the States all acknowledge themselves within the Union, and under the Constitution, if there are any grievances, let them be removed. Then, if there is anything wrong in the Constitution, let us amend it according to the mode provided in the instrument. I do not believe that we shall better the Constitution by any amendment which may be made to it.

"But, sir, I did not intend making any lengthened remarks, but only to reply in a few words to what I thought to be the false assumptions of Senators on the other side as to this whole controversy. I shall not take up the

time of the Senate by going into any lengthened argument, but will state in a few words what I suppose to be our duty here; and that is, in the first place, to endeavor to maintain the Constitution and the laws as we have them. When the attack is made by the seceding States, or by mobs in the Southern States, upon the constituted authorities, there can be no doubt as to our duty in such a case. I was saying, when interrupted, that the North was not disposed to make any encroachments upon the South. I was saying that even this Fugitive Slave Law would most likely be better executed under Mr. Lincoln's Administration than under Mr. Buchanan's, and was giving some reasons for this opinion. We know that Mr. Lincoln, in his public speeches, has said that so long as this statute stands, objectionable as it may be, he would consider it his duty to have it executed. He has said, further, that in his opinion the slave owners were entitled, under the Constitution, to a reasonable law to reclaim their runaway slaves; and he has said that he would not object to any law for that purpose which was not more likely to enslave a free man, than your common criminal laws are to punish an innocent one.

"I do not desire to engage the Senator from Kentucky in a discussion at this time, but simply to call his attention to the compromise of 1850, and see if we do not stand in a better position, just as we are, than by attempting to patch up some new compromise. For my life, I cannot see the occasion for all this agitation in the country, and for States threatening to go out of the Union, unless it be simply the fact that the Republican party has, in the constitutional mode, elected its candidate for the Presidency. That is all I can see. Inasmuch as we have not been in power, we certainly have done nothing; and although Senators who say they love the Union will pick out an isolated passage from Mr. Lincoln's speeches, or from the speeches of some extreme man, and reiterate it over and over again, as if further to inflame the public mind; still, when you come back and look at the public course of the President elect, at his avowed opinions, at the platform upon which he is elected, you will find nothing that interferes in the least with the rights of the South; nothing that denies the equality of the States; nothing that denies the equality of any individual from any of the States in the common territories of the United States."

SPEECH OF JOHN A. McCLEERNAND.

"MR. CHAIRMAN—When an impending danger can be no longer stayed or averted, is it not the part of wisdom and duty to meet, and, if possible, overcome it? Such, I think, is a sound canon of statesmanship. Acting on this belief, I propose rather briefly, to deal with the question of secession now actually upon us.

"First, I deny the constitutional right of any State to secede from the Union; second, I deprecate the exercise of any such assumed right as a measure of revolution, which in the present case, must embroil the country in a sanguinary and wasting civil war."

"Let me not be misunderstood. I do not desire war. I would avoid it by all honorable means, particularly a civil war between any of the States of this Union. Such a war would be fratricidal, unnatural, and most bloody. It would be a war between States equally jealous of their honor, and men equally brave. I would forfeit my own self-respect if I would disparage the courage of my brethren, either of the North or the South; for courage is the distinction of neither, but the virtue of both. The only difference between them is, that the man of the South fights from impetuosity, the man of the North from purpose, and the man of the West from a restless spirit of adventure. Myself, a Kentuckian by birth, and an Illinoisan by nurture and education, I would deplore such a war as the greatest calamity that could befall the country; yet, as a practical man, and a representative of the people, I must not shut my eyes to the logic of the cause and effect—to the popular instinct of self-preservation."

"Let us all—let all conservative men of all parties and of all sections, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico to the far lakes—rally in favor of the integrity of the Constitution and the Union. Let them merge the partisan in the patriot, and, coming up to the altar of their country, generously sacrifice every angry feeling and ambitious aim for the welfare and glory of that country. Let no man, whether he be Democrat, Republican, or American, refuse to yield something of his opinions and prepossessions in deference to others, and the higher claims of patriotism. All government, all authority, all human life, is a compromise. Christianity itself is a compromise between justice and mercy—between disobedience and its doomed punishment. Let us, therefore, in a

spirit of conciliation and concession, compromise our existing differences upon just and equitable terms; let us all do this for the good of all. Our fathers set us such an example in the formation of the Federal Constitution; and why cannot we follow it as the condition of preserving and perpetuating that sacred instrument? To do so would be no discredit or disparagement to any one, but an honor to all. The people, posterity, and future history, in the name of freedom and humanity, call for it.

" Personally, I would prefer compromise upon the basis of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States, in the Territories, and in the District of Columbia. My own choice would be, to leave the people of the States and Territories, each to decide for themselves, whether they would or would not have slavery, and what should be the character of their other local institutions. This would be my choice, but if such a settlement is unacceptable to the majority, then I am willing to forego my strong objections to a geographical line, and adopt the plan of adjustment recommended by a committee of the members from the border States, which is familiar to the members of the House, and which, as the peace offering of conservative men, would no doubt meet the approbation of the great mass of the people, a plan which I understand my distinguished friend from Arkansas (Mr. Rust) is prepared to bring before the House on the first opportunity."

SPEECH OF OWEN LOVEJOY.

" So far as the question of argument is concerned, it has been exhausted. A son does not argue or appeal to decide as to the propriety of killing the assassin of his mother; neither do the sons of the republic need long-winded arguments to induce them to put down this accursed rebellion. We want men, not speeches; men with muskets in their hands, not hurrahs from their throats. I have but little reputation as a conservative man, so far as I have been informed. Some people go so far as to say I am slightly tinctured with fanaticism in my views of the slavery question. For myself, I claim to be a sort of an anointed prophet of the Lord. I have faith in God, and next to Him, in the American people. Let us not fall into the error of the man who, standing by the side of a bayou or arm of the sea, and witnessing the ebb of the tide, exclaimed that the sea was becoming dry land again. Rather let us say that behind and beyond the

temporary reverses now afflicting us, there will come up the great uprising of popular patriotism, which in its certain flood, shall cover with its proper element and spirit the ground lost in those temporary reverses.

"It is not for any of us to say that during the trying emergency in which we are at present placed, he could manage the ship of State more satisfactorily than the one who is now at the helm. Let us each seize a rope and do what we can to prevent its destruction. This is common sense. I call it good common sense for a 'fanatic.' We must preserve the Nation; we must preserve it intact from rebels at home, or foreign intervention. We must not allow French intervention in Mexico. Neither must we allow a descendant of that old British tyrant, George the Third, to plant his throne in Southern soil within the boundaries of the Republic. We must therefore defend our soil if every foot of the domain is consecrated with the blood of a slain hero. We must preserve our nationality, and for myself, I don't want to survive the permanent dismemberment of these United States. I had a thousand times rather lay down my life on the battle field than outlive such a dreadful event. I don't know what God wills, but I have a shrewd suspicion that He wills what *we* will. The maintenance of the Government and the perpetuity of the Union are a necessity. What! consent to a dismemberment? Suppose we allow the confederates to secede, what do we gain? We gain a confederacy more despotic than any monarchy of Europe. With Canada on the north, and this hated Southern Confederacy on the south, with all the power and hate of England to back her, we are ground to powder between the upper and nether mill-stone.

"How is our nationality to be preserved? By every man, woman and child consecrating themselves to the great work till the rebellion is suppressed. This is a matter that cannot be settled by resolutions or meetings, nor ballots; it's got beyond that; it's bayonets and bullets now. War has hardly touched us yet in the great Northwest; it has not yet laid upon us its bloody hand, that we feel its withering, blighting curse. We must buy and sell and conduct our business as usual, but the one grand idea must ever be prominent—the suppression of this rebellion. We must make this war the great business of our lives till it is ended."

SPEECH OF JOHN F. FARNSWORTH.

"They have massed an immense army, and are fighting with a desperation we have not evinced. Until we have the same spirit, we shall not conquer them. When we seize all agencies, as they do, we shall conquer, and that right speedily. The rebels have got their last large army. Every man has been compelled to take arms and fight in the front of the rebels. When we do this, rebeldom will be put down. The people of the North are getting over their tender-footed conservatism which has sacrificed too many lives dear to your firesides. My friends, there is at this moment, in the Southern States, an army of men equal to our entire army in numbers. They are our friends. They will work for us, and fight for us, if you will but say the word. You are allowing them now to cultivate corn and wheat to feed your enemy. You are letting them work in the trenches and build fortifications against you. The entire element is ready—and I speak from my knowledge—is ready to act, and work, and fight for you. A rebel throat is none too good to be cut by a black man. I find in Virginia, that the only reliable, truthful men from whom we can obtain information about the rebel armies, their roads and their scouts, were in the poor hovels of the negro. Using all the skill and experience I have had as a lawyer, I have questioned white men, and when I had done, some old negro, too old to bear arms, would nod to me to meet him behind the barn, and would tell me 'massa lied,' and would impart to me information which subsequent experience proved true. I have never known them to tell an untruth to me. I want to see an expression go forth from this meeting, lifting up the hands of the President and Cabinet for using every agency we can lay our hands upon. The voice of the people is the voice of God. It is authoritative with statesmen and generals. That voice, I trust, will be heard. I hope the fruits of this meeting will be felt. I hope it will not be an exodus for the accumulated gas of speeches. Organize your companies and train them at home for any emergency which may occur. I want to see the wealthy merchants, who own these large buildings, the well-to-do lawyers and thriving physicians come down with the sinews of war to aid the men who are fighting the battles of the stay-at-homes. I see before me at least two regiments of men. What are you doing here? You've all got your little property at stake. Put your names on the muster roll."

SPEECH OF ISAAC N. ARNOLD.

"Starting from the Nation's capital, all along through New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana, you see a vast uprising of the people, with a fixed, stern determination, at any cost, to crush out this vast rebellion. But it is in the Northwest, and in this great city of the Northwest, that the zeal and energy of patriotism is most active and all-pervading.

"Illinois is meriting for herself and her children a glorious record. She had won distinguished honors in the Mexican war. Bissell and Hardin had associated their names and the name of Illinois with Palo Alto and Buena Vista; but in this far more glorious war, in which the faithful fights for his country against rebels and traitors, far more cruel and barbarous than Mexican guerillas, Illinois covered herself with glory. The bones of her sons lie scattered on every battle-field in the valley of the Mississippi. With more than 60,000 of her gallant sons in the field, the President, whom Illinois has given to the Nation, calls for more troops.

"Illinois springs to the rescue. Her commercial capital speaks to-day in a voice which will thrill the Nation. The Northwest is ready. As a citizen of this city, I claim to-day to express my thanks to the Board of Trade. You have done nobly, and your efforts will tell in all the Northwest, and be felt throughout the loyal States, and I doubt not the gallant soldiers you raise will be felt among the barbarians in arms against our country.

"Every great war has underlying it a great idea. What is the great idea which gives impulse and motive power to this war? It is our nationality. The grand idea of a great continental republic, ocean bounded, and extending from the lakes to the gulf, commanding the respect of the world, is an idea implanted deeply in the American heart, and it is one for which every American patriot will fight, and if necessary die. Nowhere is this sentiment stronger than in the Northwest. With one hand we clasp the East, and with the other the Northwest will grip the South, and we will hold this Union together. We will not see this grand republic split up into contemptible Mexican provinces—always fighting and destroying each other. Incident to this idea of nationality—and becoming every day stronger—is another, that this grand republic must be all free, filled with one great, free population.

"The suicide of slavery is being enacted before our eyes. Let the cursed, barbarous, traitor-breeding institution die. The slave-holder has himself given to it the mortal wound ; let no timid Northern dough-face attempt to staunch the blood. The end of slavery will prove the regeneration of the Nation.

"Liberal bounty is offered to the gallant volunteer. I wish to state a fact which may not be generally known. The Congress just adjourned provided by law that all our foreign-born soldiers should become the adopted children of the Republic ; he who fights for the flag shall be immediately a citizen. We could not do less for the gallant Germans, the countrymen of Sigel, and Osterhaus, and Willich,—for the brave Irishmen, who, under Meagher, and Shields, and Mulligan, are fighting for the old flag. To every Irishman I would say, remember Corcoran, and rally to his rescue.

"Who shall pay the cost of this war? Let us quarter on the enemy, confiscate the property, and free the slaves of rebels."

CHAPTER XI.

BEFORE THE CONFLICT.

Lincoln's Departure for Washington—Farewell Words at Springfield—Speech at Cincinnati—Inaugural Message—Resignation of Southern Senators and Representatives—Vulgar Cartoon of Lincoln by Harper's Weekly.

The politicians of the slave States, as we have before shown, had, for forty years, sounded the disunion cry whenever the National Government had manifested any disposition not to comply with their every demand ; and now that the North had elected, as they termed it, an Abolitionist, President, there was concert of action among those States in putting that oft-repeated threat into execution, and without waiting to consult the newly elected

Chief Magistrate as to his feelings or intentions regarding the policy he would pursue, and while they held the controlling power in both branches of Congress and the Supreme Court, twelve of the slave States had passed ordinances of secession, and on the 4th day of February, four days before the President-elect had left Springfield for Washington, they met at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed the so-called Southern Confederacy, with slavery as its chief corner stone. This was followed by active preparations for war. Buchanan's Administration had permitted the firing upon the Star of the West, which carried supplies to Fort Sumter, to pass without redress, and State after State to secede without offering the slightest protest. Indeed, the President had expressed in his last annual message the remarkable opinion, that "no power has been delegated to coerce into submission a State that is attempting to withdraw, or has entirely withdrawn, from the Confederacy." This singular conduct on the part of the outgoing administration, and the extraordinary proceeding of the seceded States in setting up a government for themselves, created a widespread feeling of alarm among the law-abiding citizens of the North; and Mr. Lincoln, himself, was evidently deeply agitated as to what would be the finality of the momentous issue, and the grave responsibilities he was so soon to assume weighed heavily upon his mind. He felt that the temple of liberty, founded more than three-quarters of a century before, was being shaken from center to circumference, and the absorbing thought of his great mind was, how should he prevent the temple from falling to pieces, and yet, at the same time, preserve the rights and liberties of the people.

On the day he left Springfield, February 11, many of his personal and political friends had assembled at the depot to give him a loving farewell, and in bidding them adieu, for the last time—for he was never in Springfield

again, alive—he addressed them in this feeling and pathetic manner:

"**M**Y FRIENDS—No one, not in my position, can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century, here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I will see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is perhaps greater than that which has rested upon any other man since the day of Washington. He would never have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, on which he at all times relied. I feel that I can not succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him. On the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support; and I hope you, my friends, will pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I can not succeed, but with which success is certain. Again, I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

Reaching Cincinnati, he was called out for a speech, and being in the vicinity of Kentucky, one of the slave States, and doubtless with many slave-holders as his hearers, he took occasion to advert, briefly but with perfect frankness, to the policy he should pursue towards those States. We quote his language, as it appeared in the public prints of that day:

"I have spoken but once before in Cincinnati. That was a year previous to the late Presidential election. On that occasion, in a playful manner, but with sincere words, I addressed much of what I said to the Kentuckians. I gave my opinion that we as Republicans would ultimately beat them as Democrats, but that they could postpone the result longer by nominating Senator Douglas for the Presidency, than in any other way. They did not in any true sense nominate Mr. Douglas, and the result has certainly come as soon as ever I expected. I told them how I expected they would be treated after they should be beaten, and I now wish to call their attention to what I then said. When beaten, you perhaps will want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you, so far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition. We mean to treat you as near as we possibly can as Washington, Jefferson and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way interfere with your institutions. We mean to recognize

and bear in mind that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly. Fellow-citizens of Kentucky, brethren may I call you, in my new position I see no occasion and feel no inclination to retract a word from this. If it shall not be made good, be assured the fault shall not be mine."

We will not follow him through his travels to the National capital, further than to say, that in order to reach that city in safety he was compelled to change his plans, as to his passage through Baltimore, lest he should be assassinated.

His inaugural message had been prepared with great care, and addressed itself to the sober, second-thought of the people of all the States. The platform on which he had made the race for President, and which was still fresh in the minds of the people, was utterly thrown aside, and in concluding this, his first state paper, he addressed himself, in this language, directly to his dissatisfied countrymen:

"Apprehensions seem to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and have been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the public speeches of him who now addresses you. I consider that, in view of the Constitution and laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I will take care, as the Constitution expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, I deem it only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform it, so far as possible, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or shall, in some other authoritative manner, direct the contrary. Physically speaking, we can not separate. We can not move the respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the

different parts of our country cannot do this. They can not but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties more easily than friends can make laws among friends? Suppose you go to war, you can not fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions are upon you. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no solemn oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it. I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot's grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

It would seem after these unqualified personal and official declarations regarding the policy of his Administration towards the Southern States, that there was no longer any necessity for doubt in the public mind as to what he would do, for he had given them the strongest assurance that he meant only to execute the laws as he found them, and that he would preserve, protect and defend the Government.

So great was the domination of Southern sentiment in the North, that even *Harper's Weekly* printed a vulgar cartoon of President Lincoln, as he passed through Baltimore. When he took the oath of office he was surrounded by traitors within and without; on the right and on the left; and notwithstanding the pacific language of his inaugural address, Southern Senators and Representatives precipitately resigned their seats in Congress and cast their fortunes with the so-called Southern Confederacy. The

reader will bear in mind that these men deserted their trusts at a time when the Democrats had a majority in both houses of Congress, and there was not a single law upon the statute books of the Nation which had been fathered or fostered by a Republican or Abolitionist relating to the question of slavery or the right of the people of the slave States to manage their domestic affairs in their own way; and with the most solemn assurance from the President staring them in the face, that he recognized the fact that under the Constitution and laws he had no right to interfere with the institution of slavery, and no disposition to do so, whether the right existed or not.

CHAPTER XII.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

Douglas' Prophecy—Avows His Determination to Stand by President Lincoln—His Patriotic Address at Springfield—Speech at Chicago—Death at Chicago—Monument to His Memory.

Among the many able men Illinois has had in the councils of the State and Nation, there has been no grander man than Stephen A. Douglas, and at no time did his patriotism or ability shine forth with more splendor than when the seceding States made war upon his country's flag, and among all our statesmen, there was none who had a clearer vision as to what was to be the results of the war. In Arnold's history of Abraham Lincoln is related this prophecy: "Gen. Charles Stuart, of New York, was a caller at Douglas' house in Washington, on New Year's day, 1861, and to the question, 'What will be the result of the efforts of Jefferson Davis and his associates

to divide the Union?' Douglas, rising and looking like one inspired, replied. 'The cotton States are making an effort to draw in the border States to their schemes of secession, and I am but too fearful they will succeed. If they do succeed, there will be the most terrible civil war the world has ever seen, lasting for years.' Pausing a moment, he exclaimed, 'Virginia will become a charnel house, but the end will be the triumph of the Union cause. One of their first efforts will be to take possession of this Capital, to give them prestige abroad, but they will never succeed in taking it. The North will rise *en masse* to defend it, but Washington will become a city of hospitals—the churches will be used for the sick and wounded—even this house (Minnesota block, afterwards, and during the war the Douglas Hospital) may be devoted to that purpose before the end of the war.' The friend to whom this was said inquired, 'What justification for all this?' Douglas replied, 'There is no justification, nor any pretense of any. If they remain in the Union, I will go as far as the Constitution will permit, to maintain their just rights, and I do not doubt a majority of Congress would do the same. But,' said he, again rising on his feet, and extending his arm, 'if the Southern States attempt to secede from this Union without further cause, I am in favor of their having just so many slaves, and just so much slave territory, as they can hold at the point of the bayonet, and *no more.*'"

The words of Douglas proved as prophetic as they were patriotic.

Soon after President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for 75,000 troops, Senator Douglas called on him and warmly assured him of his purpose to stand by him in the hour of the country's peril. At the request of Mr. Lincoln he dictated this dispatch, which was sent through the Associated Press to the country:

"April 18, 1861, Senator Douglas called on the President, and had an interesting conversation on the present condition of the country. The substance of it was, on the part of Mr. Douglas, that while he was unalterably opposed to the Administration in all its political issues, he was prepared to fully sustain the President in the exercise of all his constitutional functions to preserve the Union, maintain the Government, and defend the Federal Capital. A firm policy and prompt action was necessary. The Capital was in danger, and must be defended at all hazards, and at any expense of men and money. He spoke of the present and future, without reference to the past."

Arriving at Springfield on the 25th of April, he addressed, at their request, the two houses of the General Assembly in this decisive and unequivocal language:

"For the first time since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, a wide-spread conspiracy exists to overthrow the best government the sun of heaven ever shone upon. An invading army is marching upon Washington. The boast has gone forth from the Secretary of War of the so-called Confederate States, that by the first of May the rebel army will be in possession of the National Capital, and, by the first of July, its headquarters will be in old Independence Hall.

"The only question for us is, whether we shall wait supinely for the invaders, or rush, as one man, to the defence of that we hold most dear. Piratical flags are afloat on the ocean, under pretended letters of *marque*. Our great river has been closed to the commerce of the Northwest.

So long as a hope remained of peace, I plead and implored for compromise. Now, that all else has failed, there is but one course left, and that is to rally as one man, under the flag of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison and Franklin. At what time since the Government was organized, have the constitutional rights of the South been more secure than now? For the first time since the Constitution was adopted, there is no legal restriction against the spread of slavery in the Territories. When was the Fugitive Slave Law more faithfully executed? What single act has been done to justify this mad attempt to overthrow the Republic? We are told that because a certain party has carried a Presidential election, therefore the South chose to consider their liberties insecure! I

had supposed it was a fundamental principle of American institutions, that the will of the majority, constitutionally expressed, should govern! If the defeat at the ballot-box is to justify rebellion, the future history of the United States may be read in the past history of Mexico.

"It is a prodigious crime against the freedom of the world, to attempt to blot the United States out of the map of Christendom. . . . How long do you think it will be ere the guillotine is in operation? Allow me to say to my former political enemies, you will not be true to your country if you seek to make political capital out of these disasters; and to my old friends, you will be false and unworthy of your principles if you allow political defeat to convert you into traitors to your national land. The shortest way now to peace is the most stupendous and unanimous preparations for war.

"Gentlemen, it is our duty to defend our constitution and protect our flag."

Mr. Douglas then proceeded to Chicago where he spoke in the "Republican Wigwam," the building in which Abraham Lincoln had been nominated for President, to a vast audience composed of men of all parties. The following extract from that speech will show that Douglas had fully sunk the partisan in the patriot, and that he stood ready to peril fortune, fame and honor for the preservation of the Government.

"I beg you to believe that I will not do you or myself the injustice to think that this magnificent ovation is personal to myself. I rejoice to know that it expresses your devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag of our country. I will not conceal gratification at the uncontrollable test this vast audience presents—that, whatsoever political differences or party questions may have divided us, yet you all had a conviction that, when the country should be in danger, my loyalty could be relied on. That the present danger is imminent, no man can conceal. If war must come—if the bayonet must be used to maintain the Constitution—I say before God, my conscience is clean. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of the difficulty. I have not only tendered those States what was theirs of right, but I have gone to the very extreme of magnanimity.

"The return we receive is war; armies marching upon our Capital; obstructions and dangers to our navigation; letters of *marque*, to invite pirates to prey upon our commerce; a concerted movement to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe. The question is, are we to maintain the country of our fathers, or allow it to be stricken down by those who, when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy?

"What cause, what excuse do disunionists give us for breaking up the best Government on which the sun of heaven ever shed its rays? They are dissatisfied with the result of the Presidential election. Did they never get beaten before? Are we to resort to the sword when we get defeated at the ballot-box? I understand it that the voice of the people, expressed in the mode appointed by the Constitution, must command the obedience of every citizen. They assume, on the election of a particular candidate, that their rights are not safe in the Union. What evidence do they present of this? I defy any man to show any act on which it is based. What act has been omitted to be done? I appeal to these assembled thousands, that so far as the constitutional rights of slave-holders are concerned, nothing has been done and nothing omitted of which they can complain.

"There has never been a time from the day that Washington was inaugurated first President of the United States, when the rights of the Southern States stood firmer under the laws of the land than they do now; there never was a time when they had not as good a cause for disunion as they have to-day. What good cause have they now that has not existed under every administration?

"If they say the Territorial question—now, for the first time, there is no act of Congress prohibiting slavery anywhere. If it be the non-enforcement of the laws, the only complaints, that I have heard, have been of the too vigorous and faithful fulfillment of the Fugitive Slave Law. Then what reason have they?

"The slavery question is a mere excuse. The election of Lincoln is a mere pretext. The present secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy, formed more than a year since, formed by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago.

"But this is no time for the detail of causes. The conspiracy is now known. Armies have been raised, war is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the

question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war, *only patriots or traitors*.

"Thank God, Illinois is not divided on this question. I know they expected to present a united South against a divided North. They hoped in the Northern States party questions would bring civil war between Democrats and Republicans, when the South would step in with her cohorts, aid one party to conquer the other, and then make easy prey of the victors. Their scheme was carnage and civil war in the North.

"There is but one way to defeat this. In Illinois it is being so defeated, by closing up the ranks. War will thus be prevented on our own soil. While there was a hope for peace, I was ready for any reasonable sacrifice or compromise to maintain it. But when the question comes of war in the cotton fields of the South, or the corn fields of Illinois, I say the farther off the better.

"I have said more than I intended to say. It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as civil war; but sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God, that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally around the flag of his country.

"I thank you again for this magnificent demonstration. By it you show you have laid aside party strife. Illinois has a proud position—united, firm, determined never to permit the Government to be destroyed."

This was the last public speech ever made by the great Senator, for at its close he returned to his rooms at the Tremont House, where he was taken sick, and never again left them alive.

Douglas was one of the wonderful men of his time. He came to Illinois, from Vermont, in the latter part of 1833, then only twenty years of age, and like Breese, soon won the confidence and respect of the people of his adopted State, and rapidly rose to distinction. After filling various public trusts, among which were State's Attorney, Representative in the General Assembly, Secretary of State, Judge of the Supreme Court, and Representative in Congress, he was elected to the United States Senate in 1847, as the successor of James Semple, and he continued Senator until

his death—which occurred at Chicago, on the 3d of June, 1861, which event was mourned by the whole Nation. As a statesman, there was none superior. As a public speaker he stood without a peer. The magnanimity of his nature is well illustrated by the fact that he stood by and held the hat of his great rival, Abraham Lincoln, while he delivered his first inaugural address. The last act of his life was a noble appeal for the preservation of his Government, which will ever render his name imperishable in the memory of his countrymen.

A lasting monument has been erected to his memory, at Chicago, on the lake shore.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1862.

Among the more important acts of the Twenty-second General Assembly was the passage of a law providing for a constitutional convention to frame a new constitution. The election for delegates took place in November, 1861. The convention was composed of seventy-five members, forty-five of whom were Democrats, twenty-one Republicans, seven Fusionists, and two doubtful. It will be seen that the Democrats had a majority of fifteen over all, and therefore had their own way. The convention assembled on the 7th of January, 1862. John Dement was elected President *pro tempore*; William A. Hacker, President, and Wm. M. Springer, Secretary.

The delegates were as follows:

Wm. A. Hacker,
George W. Waters,
Wm. J. Allen,
Milton Bartley,

Andrew D. Duff,
Daniel Reily,
George W. Wall,
H. K. S. O'Melveny,

T. B. Tanner,
Thomas W. Stone,
R. P. Hanna,
Thomas W. Morgan,
Augustus C. French,
James B. Underwood,
Samuel Stevenson,
Solomon Kœpfle,
Samuel A. Buckmaster,
Isaac L. Leith,
James H. Parker,
Harmon Alexander,
Anthony Thornton,
Horatio M. Vandeveer,
Lewis Solomon,
John W. Woodson,
James A. Eades,
Orlando B. Ficklin,
Benj. S. Edwards,
James D. Smith,
Joseph Morton,
Albert G. Burr,
Alexander Starne,
Archibald A. Glenn,
James W. Singleton,
Austin Brooks,
John P. Richmond,
Milton M. Merrill,
Joseph C. Thompson,
Lewis W. Ross,
John G. Graham,
Thompson W. McNeely,
E. L. Austin,
T. R. Webber,

There were many eminent minds in this convention, among whom we name:

Hacker, Allen, Duff, Wall, O'Melveny, Tanner, Hanna, French, Underwood, Buckmaster, Thornton, Vandeveer, Ficklin, Edwards, Burr, Singleton, Ross, Burns, Goodspeed, Joslyn, Gale, Dement, Wentworth, Fuller and Anthony.

This body assumed, in a very large degree, both the powers of the Legislature and convention, and among other extraordinary acts, passed an ordinance appropriating

Elias S. Terry,
Wm. W. Orme,
Robert B. M. Wilson,
Jonathan Simpson,
Julius Manning,
Norman H. Purple,
John Burns,
Alexander Campbell,
Perry A. Armstrong,
Thomas Finnie,
Francis Goodspeed,
J. W. Paddock,
Henry C. Childs,
Stephen B. Stinson,
Adoniram J. Joslyn,
W. Selden Gale,
Wm. H. Allen,
Timothy R. Young,
Robert T. Templeton,
George W. Pleasants,
John Dement,
Charles Newcomer,
Wellington Weigley,
Henry Smith,
Willard P. Naramore,
Porter Sheldon,
Wm. M. Jackson,
Luther W. Lawrence.
Elisha P. Ferry,
John Wentworth,
Melville W. Fuller,
Elliott Anthony,
John H. Muhlike,

\$500,000 for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers of Illinois. Bonds were to be issued on which to raise the money, to bear ten per cent. interest, but Gov. Yates gave no heed to this act, or any other of a like nature, believing, as he did, that the duty of the convention was confined simply to the framing of a new constitution.

The constitution framed provided for biennial State elections for all State officers, and legislated out of office the Governor and other State officers, and fixed the time for electing a new State Government for November, 1862.

The constitution was submitted to a vote of the people the following June. There were two articles submitted separately; one concerning banks and currency, and the other relating to negroes and mulattoes. The latter we reproduce:

"Article 18. Sec. 1. No negro or mulatto shall migrate to or settle in this State, after the adoption of this Constitution.

"Sec. 2. No negro or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage or hold office in this State.

"Sec. 3. The General Assembly shall pass all laws necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this article."

The vote for the constitution was 126,739; against, 151,-254. Majority against the constitution, 24,515.

The article relating to negroes and mulattoes was voted on by sections, and all carried by unprecedented majorities. The article relating to banks was lost by a small vote.

It was contended by some of the leading Democratic lawyers that the article relating to negroes and mulattoes became a part of the constitution of 1848, but the question had not been passed upon by the courts when the constitution of 1870 was adopted.

CHAPTER XIV.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1862.

Late Conventions—But Two Tickets—Democrats Successful—Aggregate Vote for State Officers—Aggregate Vote for Members of Congress by Districts.

In view of the fact that the Nation was in the midst of civil war, there was little disposition on the part of the people, not active politicians, to interest themselves in political matters, and the Democrats did not hold their convention until the 16th of September, at which Alexander Starne was nominated for Treasurer, John P. Brooks for Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Jas. C. Allen for Congressman-at-Large.

On the 24th of September, the Republicans met in convention, and nominated Wm. Butler for Treasurer, Newton Bateman for Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Eben C. Ingersoll for Congressman-at-Large.

The candidates for Congress made a vigorous canvass of the State, but the Democrats elected their ticket, and carried both branches of the Legislature.

The aggregate vote for State officers, Congressman-at-Large and by districts, is as follows:

TREASURER.

Alexander Starne, D	136,843
William Butler, R.....	120,177

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

John P. Brooks, D.....	136,119
Newton Bateman, R.....	120,110

CONGRESSMAN-AT-LARGE.

James C. Allen, D	136,257
Eben C. Ingersoll, R.....	119,819

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

Isaac N. Arnold, R.....	10,025
Francis C. Sherman.....	8,387

SECOND DISTRICT.

John P. Farnsworth, R.....	12,612
Neil Donnelly.....	4,785
Scattering	8

THIRD DISTRICT.

Elihu B. Washburne, R.....	10,496
Elias B. Stiles.....	6,785
Scattering	1

FOURTH DISTRICT.

Charles W. Harris, D.....	11,626
Charles B. Lawrence.....	8,711

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Owen Lovejoy, R.....	11,683
Thos. J. Henderson.....	11,020
Benj. Graham.....	617
Scattering	4

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Jesse O. Norton, R.....	10,604
T. Lyle Dickey.....	8,419
Scattering	2

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

John R. Eden, D.....	11,361
Elijah McCarty.....	10,004

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

John T. Stuart, D.....	12,808
Leonard Swett.....	11,443

NINTH DISTRICT.

Lewis W. Ross, D.....	13,391
William Ross.....	76
Scattering.....	51

TENTH DISTRICT.

Anthony L. Knapp, D.....	14,259
Samuel W. Moulton.....	7,712
Scattering.....	48

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Jas. C. Robinson, D.....	13,644
Stephen G. Hicks	5,521

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

William R. Morrison, D.....	10,999
Robert Smith.....	6,854

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

William J. Allen, D.....	9,497
Milton Bartley.....	4,290

CHAPTER XV.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1863.

Stirring Message of the Governor—Peace Resolutions—Counter Resolutions
—Majority and Minority Reports of the Committee on Federal Relations
—Prorogation—Decision of the Supreme Court.

Governor—Richard Yates.

Lieutenant-Governor—Francis A. Hoffman.

Secretary of State—O. M. Hatch.

Auditor of Public Accounts—Jesse K. Dubois.

Treasurer—Alexander Starne.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—John P. Brooks.

TWENTY-THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Twenty-third General Assembly convened January 5, and consisted of the following members:

SENATE.

Wm. H. Green, Massac.	B. T. Schofield, Hancock.
Hugh Gregg, Williamson.	Wm. Berry, McDonough.
I. Blanchard, Jackson.	Albert C. Mason, Knox.
J. M. Rodgers, Clinton.	John T. Lindsay, Peoria.
*W. A. J. Sparks, Clinton.	W. Bushnell, LaSalle.
W. H. Underwood, St. Clair.	A. W. Mack, Kankakee.
L. E. Worcester, Greene.	Edward R. Allen, Kane.
H. M. Vandeveer, Christian.	D. Richards, Whiteside.
S. Moffat, Effingham.	T. J. Pickett, Rock Island.
Jos. Peters, Vermilion.	J. H. Addams, Stephenson.
Isaac Funk, McLean.	Cornelius Lansing, McHenry.
Colby Knapp, Logan.	Wm. B. Ogden, Cook.
H. E. Dummer, Cass.	Jasper D. Ward, Cook.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

James H. Smith, Union.	A. M. Miller, Logan.
T. B. Hicks, Massac.	C. A. Keyes, Sangamon.
Jas. B. Turner, Gallatin.	C. A. Walker, Macoupin.
Jas. W. Sharp, Wabash.	John N. English, Jersey.
H. M. Williams, Jefferson.	Wm. B. Witt, Greene.
J. M. Washburn, Williamson.	Scott Wike, Pike.
Jesse R. Ford, Clinton.	Albert G. Burr, Scott.
S. W. Miles, Monroe.	James M. Epler, Cass.
E. Menard, Randolph.	Lyman Lacey, Menard.
J. W. Merritt, Marion.	J. T. Springer, Morgan.
Jas. M. Heard, Wayne.	A. E. Wheat, Adams.
D. W. Odell, Crawford.	Wm. J. Brown, Adams.
J. W. Wescott, Clay.	Lewis G. Reid, McDonough.
R. H. McCann, Fayette.	Joseph Sharon, Schuyler.
C. L. Conger, White.	Milton M. Morrill, Hancock.
J. B. Underwood, St. Clair.	Thos. B. Cabeen, Mercer.
John Thomas, St. Clair.	Henry K. Peffer, Warren.
S. A. Buckmaster, Madison.	Joseph M. Holyoke, Knox.
Wm. Watkins, Bond.	John G. Graham, Fulton.
P. Daugherty, Clark.	Simeon P. Shope, Fulton.
Reuben Roessler, Shelby.	James Holgate, Stark.
G. F. Coffeen, Montgomery.	Wm. W. O'Brien, Peoria.

*Seat contested.

Elias Wenger, Tazewell.	L. Smith, Whiteside.
Harrison Noble, McLean.	Demas L. Harris, Lee.
Boynton Tenny, DeWitt.	James V. Gale, Ogle.
John Tenbrook, Coles.	W. W. Sedgwick, DeKalb.
John Gerrard, Edgar.	L. W. Lawrence, Boone.
John Monroe, Vermilion.	Sylvester S. Mann, Kane.
James Elder, Macon.	Jacob P. Black, Kendall.
*Wm. N. Coler, Champaign.	Elijah M. Haines, Lake.
†J. S. Busey, Champaign.	T. B. Wakeman, McHenry.
C. A. Lake, Kankakee.	S. M. Church, Winnebago.
Addison Goodell, Iroquois.	H. C. Burchard, Stephenson.
John W. Newport, Grundy.	Henry Green, Jo Daviess.
Charles E. Boyer, Will.	Jos. F. Chapman, Carroll.
‡P. A. Armstrong, Grundy.	A. S. Barnard, DuPage.
T. C. Gibson, LaSalle.	Ansel B. Cook, Cook.
Mercy B. Patty, Livingston.	Amos G. Throop, Cook.
John O. Dent, LaSalle.	Wm. E. Ginther, Cook.
George Dent, Putnam.	Melville W. Fuller, Cook.
J. A. Davis, Woodford.	*George W. Gage, Cook.
Daniel R. Howe, Bureau.	§Michael Brandt, Cook.
Nelson Lay, Henry.	Francis A. Eastman, Cook.
J. Kistler, Rock Island.	Lorenzo Brentano, Cook.

The Democrats had a majority in both branches. Lieutenant-Governor Hoffman presided over the Senate, and Manning Mayfield, of Massac, was elected Secretary, over L. H. Burnham, of Stephenson, by a vote of 13 to 10.

Samuel A. Buckmaster, of Madison, was elected Speaker of the House, over Luther W. Lawrence, of Boone, by a vote of 52 to 25, and John Q. Harmon, of Alexander, Clerk, over John C. Southwick, of Lake, by a vote of 53 to 25.

Among the new members of this General Assembly who were prominent, or attained prominence, were: Menard, Merritt, Conger, Thomas, Wike, Shope, O'Brien, Mann, Burchard, Fuller, Eastman, Brentano.

The Governor's message was laid before the two houses on the 6th of January. It contained the usual recommendations regarding needed legislation relating to the

*Seat contested.

†Admitted to seat of Wm. N. Coler.

‡Vice John W. Newport, deceased.

§Admitted to seat of George W. Gage.

several great interests of the State, but the greater portion of it was devoted to questions growing out of the war. Referring to National affairs, he said:

"In the new policy of emancipation thus inaugurated, I feel that it is of the utmost importance to meet and silence the prejudice which, for partisan purposes, is attempted to be excited against the alleged injurious effects of emancipation. It is not to be overlooked that there exists a degree of prejudice in the minds of the people, upon the subject of giving freedom to the slave, to which politicians appeal with fatal injury to the cause of that enlightened progress which has been so Providentially placed within the reach of the present generation. A grand opportunity is presented to us by the logic of events. By a wise and Christian policy we blot out a mighty wrong to one class of people now in bondage, and secure lasting peace and happiness to another.

"I am sure of two things: First—that when slavery is removed, this rebellion will die out, and not before. Second—I believe and predict, and commit the prediction in this State paper to meet the verdict of my successors in office, and of posterity, that the change brought about by the policy of emancipation will pass off in a way so *quietly* and so *easily* that the world will stand amazed that we should have entertained such fears of its evils. . . .

"I demand the removal of slavery. In the name of my country, whose peace it has disturbed, and plunged into fearful civil war; in the name of the heroes it has slain; in the name of justice, whose highest tribunals it has corrupted and prostituted to its basest ends and purposes; in the name of Washington and Jefferson, and all the old patriots who struggled round about the camps of liberty, and who looked forward to the early extinction of slavery; in the name of progress, civilization and liberty, and in the name of God Almighty himself, I demand the utter and entire demolition of this heaven-cursed wrong of human bondage—this sole cause of the treason, death and misery which fill the land. Fear not the consequences, for the Almighty will uphold the arms of the hosts whose banners are blazoned with the glorious war-cry of liberty.

"Slavery removed, and we shall have peace—solid and enduring peace—and our Nation, entering upon a new career, will leap with a mighty bound to be the greatest and freest upon the face of the earth.

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"I regret that appeals are being made to the masses by a few public presses in the country for separation from New England. Not a drop of New England blood courses my veins; still I should deem myself an object of commiseration and shame if I could forget her glorious history; if I could forget that the blood of her citizens freely commingled with that of my own ancestors upon those memorable fields which ushered in the millennium dawn of civil and religious liberty. I purpose not to be the eulogist of New England; but she is indissolubly bound to us by all the bright memories of the past, by all the glory of the present, by all the hopes of the future. I shall always glory in the fact that I belong to a republic in the galaxy of whose stars New England is among the brightest and best. Palsied be the hand that would sever the ties which bind the East and West."

The two houses met in joint session on the 12th of January and proceeded to elect a Senator of the United States to succeed Stephen A. Douglas, deceased. Wm. A. Richardson received 65 votes and Richard Yates 38. Richardson having received a majority of all the votes cast, the Speaker declared him the duly elected Senator.

This was not a harmonious body. We were then in the second year of the war, and there existed a radical difference between the respective parties relating to the measures employed by the National Government to overthrow the rebellion, and much of the time of the session was occupied in a violent and fruitless discussion of these questions; but that the reader may have a clear understanding of the spirit and temper of that assembly, we print the views of the respective parties on the questions at issue as they were presented by the majority and minority reports from the Committee on Federal Relations. The report of the majority was in these words:

"WHEREAS, The Union has no existence separate from the Federal Constitution, but, being created solely by that instrument, it can only exist by virtue thereof; and when the provisions of that Constitution are suspended, either in time of war or in peace, whether by the North or the South, it is alike disunion; and

"WHEREAS, The Federal Government can lawfully exercise no power that is not conferred upon it by the Federal Constitution, the exercise, therefore, of other powers, not granted by that instrument, in time of war, as well as in time of peace, is a violation of the written will of the American people, destructive of their plan of government, and of their common liberties; and

"WHEREAS, The Constitution cannot be maintained, nor the Union preserved, in opposition to public feeling, by a mere exercise of the coercive powers confided to the General Government, and that, in case of differences and conflicts between the States and the Federal Government, too powerful for adjustment by the civil departments of the Government, the appeal is not to the sword, by the State, or by the General Government, but to the people, peacefully assembled by their Representatives in convention; and

"WHEREAS, The allegiance of the citizen is due alone to the Constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof—not to any man, or officer, or administration—and whatever support is due to any officer of this Government, is due alone by virtue of the Constitution and laws; and

"WHEREAS, ALSO, The condition of the whole Republic, but more especially the preservation of the liberties of the people of Illinois, imperatively demands that we, their representatives, should make known to our fellow countrymen our deliberate judgment and will;

"WE THEREFORE DECLARE, That the acts of the Federal Administration in suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, the arrest of citizens not subject to military law, without warrant and without authority—transporting them to distant States, incarcerating them in political prisons, without charge or accusation—denying them the right of trial by jury, witnesses in their favor, or counsel for their defense; withholding from them all knowledge of their accusers, and the cause of their arrest—answering their petitions for redress by repeated injury and insult—prescribing, in many cases, as a condition of their release, test oaths, arbitrary and illegal; in the abridgment of freedom of speech, and of the press, by imprisoning the citizen for expressing his sentiments, by suppressing newspapers by military force, and establishing a censorship over others, wholly incompatible with freedom of thought and expression of opinion, and the establishment of a system of espionage by a secret police, to invade the sacred privacy of unsuspecting citizens; declaring martial law

over States not in rebellion, and where the courts are open and unobstructed for the punishment of crime; in declaring the slaves of loyal, as well as disloyal citizens, in certain States and parts of States, free; the attempted enforcement of compensated emancipation; the proposed taxation of the laboring white man to purchase the freedom and secure the elevation of the negro; the transportation of negroes into the State of Illinois, in defiance of the repeatedly expressed will of the people; the arrest and imprisonment of the Representatives of a free and sovereign State; the dismemberment of the State of Virginia, erecting within her boundaries a new State, without the consent of her Legislature, are each and all arbitrary and unconstitutional, a usurpation of the legislative functions, a suspension of the judicial departments of the State and Federal Governments, subverting the Constitution—State and Federal—invading the reserved rights of the people, and the sovereignty of the States, and, if sanctioned, destructive of the Union—establishing upon the common ruins of the liberties of the people and the sovereignty of the States a consolidated military despotism.

"And we hereby solemnly declare that no American citizen can, without the crime of infidelity to his country's Constitutions, and the allegiance which he bears to each, sanction such usurpations.

"Believing that our silence would be criminal, and may be construed into consent, in deep reverence for our Constitution, which has been ruthlessly violated, we do hereby enter our most solemn protest against these usurpations of power, and place the same before the world, intending thereby to warn our public servants against further usurpations; therefore,

Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring herein, That the army was organized, confiding in the declaration of the President, in his inaugural address, to-wit: "That he had no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed, and that he believed he had no lawful right to do so, and that he had no inclination to do so;" and upon the declaration of the Federal Congress, to-wit: "That this war is not waged in any spirit of oppression or subjugation, or any purpose of overthrowing any of the institutions of any of the States;" and that, inasmuch as the whole policy of the Administration, since the organization of the army, has been at war with the declarations aforesaid, culminating in the emancipation proclamation,

leaving the facts patent, that the war has been diverted from its first avowed object to that of subjugation and the abolition of slavery, a fraud, both legal and moral, has been perpetrated upon the brave sons of Illinois, who have so nobly gone forth to battle for the Constitution and the laws. And, while we protest against the continuance of this gross fraud upon our citizen soldiers, we thank them for that heroic conduct on the battlefields that shed imperishable glory on the State of Illinois.

"Resolved, That we believe the further prosecution of the present war can not result in the restoration of the Union and the preservation of the Constitution, as our fathers made it, unless the President's Emancipation Proclamation be withdrawn.

"Resolved, That while we condemn and denounce the flagrant and monstrous usurpations of the Administration, and encroachments of Abolitionism, we equally condemn and denounce the ruinous heresy of secession, as unwarranted by the Constitution, and destructive alike of the security and perpetuity of our Government, and the peace and liberty of the people; and fearing, as we do, that it is the intention of the present Congress and Administration, at no distant day, to acknowledge the independence of the Southern Confederacy, and thereby sever the Union, we hereby solemnly declare that we are unalterably opposed to any such severance of the Union, and that we never can consent that the great Northwest shall be separated from the Southern States, comprising the Mississippi Valley. That river shall never water the soil of two nations, but, from its source to its confluence with the gulf, shall belong to one great and united people.

"Resolved, That peace, fraternal relations and political fellowship should be restored among the States, that the best interests of all, and the welfare of mankind, require that this should be done in the most speedy and effective manner; that it is to the people we must look for a restoration of the Union, and the blessings of peace, and to these ends we should direct our earnest and honest efforts; and hence we are in favor of the assembling of a National Convention of all the States, to so adjust our National difficulties that the States may hereafter live together in harmony, each being secured in the rights guaranteed to all by our fathers; and which Convention we recommend shall convene at Louisville, Kentucky, or such other place as shall be determined upon by Congress or the several States, at the earliest practicable period.

"Resolved, further, therefore, That to attain the objects of the foregoing resolution, we hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States, the Administration at Washington, and the Executives and Legislatures of the several States, to take such action as shall secure an armistice, in which the rights and safety of the Government shall be fully protected, for such length of time as will enable the people to meet in convention as aforesaid. And we, therefore, earnestly recommend to our fellow-citizens everywhere, to observe and keep all their lawful and constitutional obligations; to abstain from all violence, and to meet together and reason, each with the other, upon the best mode to attain the great blessings of peace, unity and liberty; and, be it further

"Resolved, That to secure the co-operation of the States and the General Government, Stephen T. Logan, Samuel S. Marshall, H. K. S. O'Melveny, William C. Goudy, Anthony Thornton and John D. Caton, are hereby appointed commissioners to confer immediately with Congress and the President of the United States, and with the Legislatures and Executives of the several States, and urge the necessity of prompt action to secure said armistice, and the election of delegates to, and early assembling of, said convention; and to arrange and agree with the General Government and the several States, upon the time and place of holding said convention; and that they report their action in the premises to the General Assembly of this State.

"Resolved, That the Speaker of the House of Representatives be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the President of the United States, to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to each of the Governors and the Speakers of the House of Representatives of the several States."

The minority report was as follows:

"Resolved, That in the present condition of our National affairs, and in the existence of the troubles which surround our country, it is the duty of all good citizens cordially to support the National and State administrations, and that we hereby offer to the administration of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Richard Yates, Governor of the State of Illinois, our earnest and cordial support in the efforts of their respective administrations to put down the present most infamous rebellion.

"Resolved, That while we admit that during the present terrible and unjustifiable rebellion it would be impossible for the President of the United States to discharge his duties so as to satisfy the views of all the people of the United States, yet as he is the officer invested with the constitutional power to act as the executive head of the Government in putting down the present rebellion, which is seeking our overthrow, it becomes the duty of all loyal citizens to strengthen the President's arm for the contest, and to give him that moral and material aid and support, regardless of mere party difference of opinion, that will be effectual to put down insurrection and sustain our Government, and we hold that no man can be regarded as a lover of his country who will not make any sacrifice that is needed to sustain the Government under which he lives.

"Resolved, That it is the first and highest duty of the National Government to crush out the existing rebellion; that our own happiness, prosperity and power as a people, and the fate of republican institutions throughout the world are involved in this great issue; and in order to accomplish that result, it is both the right and duty of the Government to use all means recognized by the laws of civilized warfare.

"Resolved, That the Constitution of our fathers and the irrepealable laws of nature unite in indissoluble bonds the great Northwest with the mouth of the Mississippi and the Eastern seaboard; that we should be as ready, if need were, to crush secession in the East as in the South, and that we will never consent to the dissolution of the Union, or to the abandonment by the National Government of its constitutional sovereignty over any, the least portion of our territory.

"Resolved, That we have no terms of compromise to propose to rebels in arms; that we should regard propositions by the loyal States for a cessation of hostilities as both fruitless and humiliating, and that any settlement of our National troubles, by any species of concession to rebels, or by any mode short of an unconditional suppression of the rebellion, would be an acknowledgment of the principle of secession, and would be offering a premium to treason for all time to come.

"Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States confers upon the Government of the same, all the powers necessary to the effectual suppression of the rebellion, and to punish the rebels for the violation of their allegiance, and to this end it may deprive them of life, liberty or

property, if required, in its judgment, and that an imperious necessity demanded of the President of the United States the issuing of his proclamation of freedom to the slaves in rebellious States and parts of States, and we pledge ourselves to sustain him in the same.

"Resolved, That the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the army and the executive head of the Government, has the same undoubted right to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, during an armed rebellion, that Gen. Jackson had to suspend that writ in New Orleans; that even if individual cases of hardship have occurred in consequence of false information furnished to the Government, which it had good reason to believe to be true, still no thoroughly loyal citizen, who earnestly desires the suppression of the rebellion, would seek, for such causes, to create disaffection among the people towards the Government, or to make them believe that their liberties are in danger, and that we have yet to hear of the first truly loyal man who believes himself in danger of military arrest or imprisonment in so-called bastiles.

"Resolved, That the object of the Administration, in prosecuting the war against the rebellion, is now, as it ever has heretofore been, the restoration of the Union, and not the abolition of slavery in the rebellious States; that this last step is resorted to by the President as a necessary and constitutional war measure, and as a potent means towards the accomplishment of the great object had in view—the crushing of the rebellion and the restoration of the Union.

Resolved, That during the great convulsion which afflicts our country, we are desirous of seeing the liberty of the citizen as much respected as is compatible with public safety; but we distinctly announce our conviction to be, that no man has a right to be a traitor—that no man has a right to aid and abet the enemies of his country—that no man has a right to appeal to the spirit of insurrection in opposition to the constituted and lawful authorities of the land—that those so offending act by virtue of no right, but in their own wrong, and should be promptly and duly restrained by the Government.

Resolved, That until the present struggle is over, and the Union restored, the people should recognize no party line but that mentioned by Mr. Douglas—the line dividing patriots and traitors; that inasmuch as all traitors, North and South, are united, it behooves all patriots of all parties to stand together like a band of brothers,

meeting with unbroken front, and putting down with united strength treason in all its forms, and wherever it may lift its head.

Resolved, That the late State government of Virginia having treasonably abdicated its legitimate authority, the same devolved upon that portion of her citizens which organized a loyal government in that section of her territory where they could safely assemble, and that such loyal government was invested with the whole power of the State of Virginia, and had the rightful authority, under the National Constitution, with the sanction of Congress, to consent to the formation of a new State, carved out of its territory.

Resolved, That the courts of the United States would be wholly inefficient to maintain its authority against rebels in arms, and that the only mode in which the rebellion can be put down is through the military arm of the Government, and that the proper duty of our courts is to follow, and not to precede, our armies, and that we will hail the day when the military aid can be dispensed with in the administration of our affairs, and the civil authority restored to its wonted supremacy.

Resolved, That the democratic principle, viz: the frequency of elections, and of submission to the will of the people as expressed at the ballot box, dispenses entirely with the necessity of forcible revolution to correct any real or fancied errors of administration, and this fact takes away all excuse for those who seek to inaugurate a state of anarchy or rebellion, and invests their crime with a ten-fold atrocity.

Resolved, That the gallant sons of Illinois who have gone forth to fight our battles, have achieved for themselves and their State imperishable renown; that the page which shall record their deeds will be among the brightest of our country's history, and having sealed their hatred of treason by the baptism of the battle-field, they will, upon their return, pronounce at the ballot box, their condemnation of all men who have dared to express a covert sympathy with traitors, or to denounce the sacred cause for which they have shed their blood."

On the 12th of February, Mr. Lawrence moved to substitute the minority report for that of the majority, which was lost by a vote of 27 yeas to 52 nays, when Mr. Burr moved the previous question upon the adoption of the resolutions of the majority report, which was decided in the affirmative,

by a vote of 52 yeas to 28 nays. The resolutions were transmitted to the Senate the same day for its concurrence, and on motion of Mr. Underwood, they were made the special order for Friday evening the 18th, at 7 o'clock. Pending the action of the Senate on the resolutions, Senator Rogers, Democrat, died, which left the Senate, politically, a tie, and as the presiding officer was a Republican and had the casting vote, the resolutions were thus left unacted upon, and on the 14th the two houses took a recess until the 2d of June.

As may be inferred, this was one of the most exciting sessions of the Legislature ever known. A wide difference existed between the Executive and the dominant party as to the National policy regarding the prosecution of the war. The majority in either house lost no opportunity to oppose the wishes of the Executive, and *vice versa*. Many violent speeches were made in either house, but that of Senator Funk, of McLean, who had been elected to succeed Senator Oglesby, was one of the most thrilling and remarkable. Mr. Funk was a Republican, and ardently in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. He had never made a speech before in his life; he had listened for weeks to the utterances of the men who opposed the war policy of the National Government, until his patience was exhausted, and rising in his place, without knowing what he was going to say, or what would be the consequences, he spoke with a power and fluency that filled and thrilled the entire capitol, and won for him the admiration of the war men throughout the entire North. His speech was reproduced in all the leading journals of the country; it was read to the Union soldiers in the South, by order of their commanders, and Mr. Funk received from President Lincoln a personal letter, thanking him for the bold stand he had taken in favor of the prosecution of the war. We will digress to say that Senator Funk died in Bloomington, at

5 o'clock a. m., January 29, 1865, at the residence of his son Duncan, surrounded by his affectionate family, in the 68th year of his age; and, singular as it may seem, his wife died at 9 o'clock on the same day.

This body reassembled in June, agreeably to adjournment, and on the 3d Mr. Bushnell introduced a joint resolution proposing a *sine die* adjournment on the 10th. On the 8th his resolution was taken up, and, on motion of Mr. Mack, was amended by inserting the words "at 12 o'clock." Mr. Mason moved to insert "the 16th inst. at 12 o'clock." The yeas and nays being demanded, it was lost, by a vote of 4 yeas to 17 nays. The question recurring on the motion to adjourn on the 10th, Mr. Vandever moved to amend by inserting "6 o'clock this day," which was decided in the affirmative, by a vote of 14 yeas to 7 nays. The resolution was sent to the House for its concurrence. Mr. Walker moved to amend the resolution by striking out the words "June 8th, at 6 o'clock p. m.," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "June 22d, at 10 o'clock a. m." Mr. Haines moved to strike out "June 8th, at 6 o'clock p. m.," and insert "June 12th, at 10 o'clock a. m." Mr. Monroe moved to strike out "June 8th, at 6 o'clock," and insert "June 19th, at 10 o'clock a. m." Mr. Smith, of Union, moved to lay the whole subject on the table, which was decided in the negative, by a vote of 27 yeas to 32 nays. Mr. Wike then moved the previous question on the amendment of Mr. Walker, which was decided in the affirmative, by a vote of 45 yeas to 21 nays, when the resolution, as amended, was adopted by a vote of 51 yeas to 18 nays, and it was sent to the Senate for its concurrence. A resolution was subsequently sent by the House to the Senate expressing a desire to recede from its action in amending the Senate resolution relative to adjournment, and requested the return of the resolution for reconsideration. There was no further

action by the Senate on the resolution, and on the morning of the 10th, Gov. Yates transmitted a message to the two houses proroguing the General Assembly "to the Saturday next preceding the first Monday in January, 1865." In the Senate, the Speaker having vacated his seat, Mr. Underwood was called to the chair when a call of the Senate showed only eight members present. In the House, the message proroguing the Assembly was announced by the Doorkeeper, and read, but the bearer was not recognized by the Speaker. Mr. Smith, of Union, moved to adjourn until 2 o'clock. Mr. Burr moved to adjourn without day, and after debate, the resolution was withdrawn, when Mr. Walker moved a call of the House, when it was found to be without a quorum. On motion of Mr. Burr, a joint committee, consisting of three from the House and two from the Senate, was appointed to prepare an address to the people, explaining why they were not engaged in transacting the legitimate business for which they were elected.

On the presentation of the message proroguing the body, the Republicans at once absented themselves from the two houses and departed for their respective homes, but the Democrats remained in session until the 24th of June, when a recess was taken until the Tuesday after the first Monday of January, 1864, at 10 o'clock a. m. (See House and Senate journals, 1863.)

This was the first, and only time, where the Governor of the State had exercised the power of prorogation, as conferred upon him by the constitution. The Democratic members issued a fiery address to the people of the State, setting forth their grievances, and the question as to the legality of the action of the Governor was presented to the Supreme Court, in various forms, by eminent legal talent, yet that body never rendered a decision bearing

directly on the question. Three Judges then constituted this Court, in the persons of Sidney Breese, Pinkney H. Walker and John D. Caton, but the latter was not present when the cause was passed upon. Justices Breese and Walker wrote separate opinions, but each concurred with the other. Justice Breese said: "Admitting, then, that the act of the Governor was, in the language of the protest, 'illegal, outrageous and unconstitutional,' both houses having adopted it and dispersed, they thereby put an end to the session, evincing at the time no intention to resume it. This, for all practical purposes, was an adjournment *sine die*." And thus ended the existence of this General Assembly, and the controversy growing out of its prorogation by the Governor.

CHAPTER XVI.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1864.

Two State Tickets—Two Presidential Candidates—Aggregate Vote for State Officers—Aggregate Vote for Members of Congress by Districts—Aggregate Vote for Electors.

The Republican party held their State Convention May 25, to nominate a State ticket and appoint delegates to the National Convention. Richard J. Oglesby was nominated for Governor; William Bross, for Lieutenant-Governor; Sharon Tyndale, for Secretary of State; O. H. Miner, for Auditor; James H. Beveridge, for Treasurer; Newton Bateman, for Superintendent of Public Instruction, and S. W. Moulton for Congressman-at-Large.

The Democratic Convention did not meet until September 6. James C. Robinson was nominated for Governor;

S. Corning Judd, for Lieutenant-Governor; Wm. A. Turney, for Secretary of State; John Hise, for Auditor; Alexander Starne, for Treasurer; John P. Brooks, for Superintendent of Public Instruction, and James C. Allen for Congressman-at-Large.

The Republicans met in National Convention at Baltimore, June 7, and renominated Abraham Lincoln for President and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President.

The Democrats met in National Convention at Chicago, August 29, and nominated Geo. B. McClellan, of New Jersey, for President, and Geo. H. Pendleton, of Ohio, for Vice-President.

This being the year of the Presidential election, the contest was therefore active and earnest on both sides, and was waged with much bitterness. Notwithstanding the Democrats had nominated a strong war man for President, they adopted a peace platform in which they declared that the war for the Union was a failure, and demanded a cessation of hostilities, which platform was adopted by the Democratic State Convention.

In the selection of Robinson and Allen, the Democracy had put forth their greatest champions, and on this platform they boldly took their stand, and the State rang from end to end and side to side with their eloquence.

The Republicans had resolved, in State and National Conventions, to stand by the constituted authorities of the country in their efforts to uphold the character of the Government and maintain the Union, and as an evidence of sincerity, had nominated President Lincoln for re-election, and a General of the Union army for Governor, on a platform which had no uncertain sound as regarded the prosecution of the war. Upon these broad declarations the gallant Oglesby and patriotic Moulton boldly met their adversary, and routed him horse, foot and dragoon. The majority for the Republican State ticket was 31,675, and

for the National ticket 30,676. This result clearly showed that the people, irrespective of party leaders, were in favor of sustaining the Union by a vigorous prosecution of the war.

The aggregate vote for the State officers, Congressman-at-Large, Congressmen by districts, and Presidential electors, is as follows:

GOVERNOR.

Richard J. Oglesby, R.....	190,376
James C. Robinson, D.....	158,701

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

William Bross, R.....	188,842
S. Corning Judd, D.....	158,244

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Sharon Tyndale, R.....	190,154
Wm. A. Turney, D.....	158,833

AUDITOR.

O. H. Miner, R.....	190,231
John Hise, D.....	158,727

TREASURER.

James H. Beveridge, R.....	190,199
Alexander Starne, D.....	158,792

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Newton Bateman, R.....	190,280
John P. Brooks, D.....	158,777

CONGRESSMAN-AT-LARGE.

S. W. Moulton, R.....	190,226
J. C. Allen.....	158,784

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

John Wentworth, R.....	18,557
Cyrus H. McCormick.....	14,277

SECOND DISTRICT.

John F. Farnsworth, R.....	18,298
M. C. Johnson.....	5,287

THIRD DISTRICT.

Elihu B. Washburne, R.....	15,711
Elias B. Stiles.....	7,421
Scattering.....	4

FOURTH DISTRICT.

Abner C. Harding, R.....	13,569
Charles M. Harris.....	12,721

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Eben C. Ingersoll, R.....	18,152
James S. Eckles.....	11,282

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Burton C. Cook, R.....	15,598
Samuel K. Casey.....	9,980

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

H. P. H. Bromwell, D.....	15,363
John R. Eden.....	12,027

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Shelby M. Cullom, R.....	15,812
John T. Stuart.....	14,027

NINTH DISTRICT.

Lewis W. Ross, D.....	15,296
Hugh Fullerton.....	12,239

TENTH DISTRICT.

Anthony Thornton, D.....	16,902
N. M. Knapp.....	12,176

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Samuel S. Marshall, D.....	16,703
Ethelbert Callahan.....	10,696

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

Jehu Baker, R.....	11,817
Wm. R. Morrison.....	11,741

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

Andrew J. Kuykendall, R.....	11,742
William J. Allen.....	10,759
Milton Bartley.....	57

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS—LINCOLN, R.

John Dougherty.....	189,505
Francis A. Hoffman.....	189,508
Benjamin M. Prentiss.....	189,506
John V. Farwell.....	189,517
Anson S. Miller.....	189,518
John V. Eustace.....	189,505
James S. Poage.....	189,518
John I. Bennett.....	189,519
William T. Hopkins.....	189,517
Franklin Blades.....	189,518
J. C. Conkling.....	189,517
William Walker.....	189,518
Thomas W. Harris.....	189,518
N. M. McCurdy.....	189,519
Henry S. Baker.....	189,518
Z. S. Clifford.....	189,521

McCLELLAN, D.

Chauncey L. Higbee.....	158,829
Arno Voss.....	158,519
Nathan S. Davis.....	158,519
Samuel Ashton.....	158,726
H. T. Helm.....	158,726
William Barge.....	158,726
Henry K. Peffer.....	158,726
John T. Lindsay.....	158,725
Sherman W. Bowen.....	158,726
Abram L. Keller.....	158,726
Adlai E. Stephenson.....	158,726
J. C. Thompson	158,726
John M. Woodson.....	158,726
H. K. S. O'Melveney.....	158,726
Thomas Dimmock.....	158,726
Cresa K. Davis.....	158,726





WILLIAM A. GALEY, JR.

R.J. Galey

1922-1923



CHAPTER XVII.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1865.

Governor—R. J. Oglesby.

Lieutenant-Governor—William Bross.

Secretary of State—Sharon Tyndale.

Auditor of Public Accounts—O. H. Miner.

Treasurer—Jas. H. Beveridge.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—Newton Bateman.

TWENTY-FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Twenty-fourth General Assembly convened the 2d day of January, and consisted of the following members:

SENATE.

Wm. H. Green, Cairo.	James Strain, Monmouth.
John W. Wescott, Xenia.	A. C. Mason, Galesburg.
Daniel Reily, Kaskaskia.	John T. Lindsay, Peoria.
David K. Green, Salem.	W. Bushnell, Ottawa,
A. W. Metcalf, Edwardsville.	A. W. Mack, Kankakee.
L. E. Worcester, Whitehall.	E. R. Allen, Aurora.
H. M. Vandeveer, Taylorville.	Daniel Richard, Sterling.
Andrew J. Hunter, Paris.	A. Webster, Rock Island.
Joseph Peters, Danville.	J. H. Addams, Cedarville.
Isaac Funk, Bloomington.	C. Lansing, Marengo.
John B. Cohrs, Pekin.	F. A. Eastman, Chicago.
M. McConnel, Jacksonville.	J. D. Ward, Chicago.
B. T. Schofield, Carthage.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Henry W. Webb, Cairo.	W. H. Logan, Murphysboro.
Wm. A. Looney, Vienna.	Isaac Miller, Nashville.
C. Burnett, Elizabethtown.	W. K. Murphy, Pinckneyville
D. H. Morgan, Russellville.	Austin James, Michie.
John Ward, Benton.	S. E. Stephenson, Salem.

V. S. Benson, McLeansboro.	John L. Tincher, Danville.
Thomas Cooper, Willow Hill.	Solomon L. Spink, Paris.
Lewis W. Miller, Olney.	Isaac C. Pugh, Decatur.
Geo. H. Deickman, Vandalia.	Lewis J. Bond, Monticello.
J. Shelby, Maple Grove.	C. A. Lake, Kankakee.
Nathaniel Niles, Belleville.	Charles H. Wood, Onarga.
John Thomas, Belleville.	A. J. McIntyre, Wilmington.
Julius J. Barnsback, Troy.	Wm. T. Hopkins, Morris.
H. Dresser, Cottonwood G've	Franklin Corwin, LaSalle.
H. B. Decius, Majority Point.	John Miller, Freedom.
Wm. Middlesworth, Windsor	Jason W. Strevell, Pontiac.
Elisha E. Barrett, Butler.	Henry D. Cook, Kappa.
Ambrose M. Miller, Lincoln.	G. D. Henderson, Granville.
James W. Patton, Berlin.	Wm. C. Stacy, Princeton.
Sergeant Gobble, Scottsville.	Milton M. Ford, Galva.
John McDonald, Hardin.	Jos. W. Lloyd, Edginton.
Nathaniel M. Perry, Kane.	Leander Smith, Fulton.
J. F. Curtis, Manchester.	O. W. Bryant, Paw Paw Gr.
Scott Wike, Pittsfield.	D. J. Pinckney, Mt. Morris.
King Kerley, Mt. Sterling.	Allen C. Fuller, Belvidere.
John Hill, Petersburg.	Ira V. Randall, DeKalb.
J. T. Springer, Jacksonville.	O. C. Johnson, Kendall.
Thomas Redmond, Quincy.	S. S. Mann, Elgin.
W. T. Yeargain, Columbus.	E. B. Payne, Waukegan.
Wm. H. Neece, Macomb.	M. L. Joslyn, Woodstock.
Joseph Sharon, Augusta.	Wm. Brown, Rockford.
M. M. Morrill, Nauvoo.	H. C. Burchard, Freeport.
J. Simpson, Oquawka.	John D. Platt, Warren.
Jas. H. Martin, Monmouth.	Daniel W. Dame, Lanark.
J. M. Holyoke, Wataga.	Henry C. Childs, Wheaton.
L. W. James, Lewiston.	N. W. Huntley, Chicago.
T. M. Morse, Fairview.	Ansel B. Cook, Chicago.
Richard C. Dunn, Toulon.	Wm. Jackson, Orland.
Alexander McCoy, Peoria.	Ed. S. Isham, Chicago.
S. R. Saltonstall, Tremont.	A. H. Dalton, Hope.
Harrison Noble, Heyworth.	A. F. Stephenson, Chicago.
John Warner, Clinton.	George Strong, Wheeling.
Malden Jones, Tuscola.	

Lieutenant-Governor Bross was the presiding officer of the Senate, and John F. Nash, of LaSalle, was elected Secretary, over Maning Mayfield, of Massac, by a vote of 14 to 8.

Allen C. Fuller, of Boone, was elected Speaker of the House, over Ambrose M. Miller, of Logan, by a vote of

48 to 23, and Walter S. Frazier, of Cook, Clerk, over John Q. Harmon, of Alexander, by a vote of 50 to 21.

Those of the new members of this body who were able and active, were: D. K. Green, Metcalf, Cohrs, Lindsay, Bushnell, Ward, Webb, Burnett, Murphy, Corwin, Ford, Joslyn.

Richard Yates, the retiring Governor, presented his message to the two houses on the 3d. One of his special recommendations was the repeal of the "black laws". An elaborate statement was given relating to the affairs of the State in general, and notwithstanding the Nation had passed through a long and expensive war, it was shown that Illinois had continued to advance in prosperity, and that for the four years ending December, 1864, the State debt had been reduced \$987,786.24.

Richard Yates was known as one of the war Governors, and all his energy and ability were directed in saving the Union. He was truly a great and sagacious man. When the tocsin of war was sounded he was prompt in responding to the call of the National Government for troops, to aid in putting down the rebellion; he had the moral courage to do that which would best serve the Nation in its efforts to preserve its own life; he laid aside his party predilections, and labored and thought only of saving the Union intact; he comprehended the magnitude of the rebellion at once, and was early in advising President Lincoln as to the policy of declaring the slaves free, and allowing them to fight in defense of the flag that was to protect them in their liberty. He retired from the office with the love and admiration of his countrymen.

The two houses met in joint session January 4, and elected Richard Yates United States Senator, over James C. Robinson, by a vote of 64 to 43.

The assembly met in joint session on the 16th, when the incoming Governor, R. J. Oglesby, was inaugurated,

and his message read. He referred in appropriate terms to the conflict through which the country was passing; invited special attention to the recommendations in the message of his predecessor; he urged strict economy in every department; he recommended that action be taken for the disposition and utilization of the grant of land, donated by Congress in 1862, to the State for college purposes; he recommended that a law be passed allowing the soldiers in the field to vote; he recommended to the care and attention of the General Assembly the vast multitude of helpless orphans who had been deprived of the protection of kind fathers, who had given their lives to the country; he urged the adoption of the 13th amendment to the National Constitution, abolishing slavery.

The duration of the session was just forty-five days. Among the public laws enacted was a law requiring the holders of the so-called Macallister and Stebbins bonds to surrender the same by July 1st, 1865, under certain penalties, or by January 1st, 1866, under other and heavier penalties; \$3,000 was appropriated for the purpose of paying the proportion of the State in furnishing the Soldiers' National Cemetery at Gettysburg; an act was passed to establish a home for the children of deceased soldiers, (this was the foundation of the Soldiers' Orphans' Home, at Normal); \$25,000 was appropriated to purchase the tract of land on which reposed the remains of Stephen A. Douglas; an experimental school for the instruction and training of idiots and feeble-minded children was authorized, and the sum of \$5,000, annually, was appropriated for that purpose. From this humble beginning has grown the Feeble-Minded Institute now in successful operation at Lincoln. The "black laws" were repealed at this session, and the 13th amendment to the National Constitution, abolishing slavery, was ratified.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ILLINOIS AND THE WAR.

Prompt Response to the Call for Soldiers to Put Down the Rebellion—Number of Soldiers Furnished, by Counties—Allen C. Fuller.

We pass briefly over the part Illinois took in the great war to preserve the Union, for the simple reason that the deeds of her brave soldiers and their gallant leaders are already a part of the history of both the State and Nation. No history, whether National or Confederate, has been written since that unfortunate conflict which does not contain honorable mention of their gallant deeds upon many hotly contested battlefields; while the carefully prepared official reports of Adjutant-Generals Mather, Fuller and Haynie, give the name and rank of every soldier from Illinois, who took part in that war. But, better than all, the memory of their heroic patriotism is indelibly stamped upon the hearts of our people; and only when the cycles of time cease, will it be forgotten.

On the 15th of April, one day after the surrender of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteer soldiers to repossess and preserve the property of the Nation. Jefferson Davis, President of the so-called Confederate Government, also issued a proclamation calling his people to arms, and the issue of war between the two sections was distinctly made. Under the call of President Lincoln, the quota of Illinois was 6,000 men. Governor Yates was quick to issue his

proclamation convening the Legislature, to provide such measures as were necessary to fill the call and put the State upon a war footing. In ten days thereafter the quota of Illinois was filled, and more than a million dollars tendered the Governor by the capitalists of the State to aid in the maintenance of the integrity of the Union; and while it is true that there was a division of sentiment among the parties political, regarding the policy of the Government and the means employed to overcome the rebellion and preserve the Union, yet Illinois never faltered in responding to the calls of the Nation in that great emergency.

NUMBER OF SOLDIERS FURNISHED.

We here present the reader with an authentic statement as to the number of soldiers furnished by Illinois in the war, by counties, as shown by the official records in the Adjutant-General's office:

Adams, 5173; Alexander, 1358; Bond, 1148; Boone, 1337; Brown, 1215; Bureau, 3626; Calhoun, 528; Carroll, 1498; Cass, 1312; Champaign, 2276; Christian, 1369; Clark, 1560; Clay, 1482; Clinton, 1332; Coles, 2741; Cook, 22,436; Crawford, 1323; Cumberland, 920; DeKalb, 2391; DeWitt, 1522; Douglas, 1175; DuPage, 1524; Edgar, 2312; Edwards, 625; Effingham, 1202; Fayette, 1629; Ford, 271; Franklin, 1241; Fulton, 3789; Gallatin, 1362; Greene, 1940; Grundy, 1343; Hamilton, 1226; Hancock, 3272; Hardin, 569; Henderson, 1330; Henry, 3077; Iroquois, 1769; Jackson, 1422; Jasper, 948; Jefferson, 1330; Jersey, 1229; Jo Daviess, 2513; Johnson, 1426; Kane, 3873; Kankakee, 1764; Kendall, 1551; Knox, 3837; Lake, 1890; LaSalle, 5942; Lawrence, 1230; Lee, 2446; Livingston, 1743; Logan, 2160; Macon, 2189; Macoupin, 8184; Madison, 4221; Marion, 1954; Marshall, 1779; Mason, 1531; Massac, 880; McDonough, 2734; McHenry, 2533; McLean,

4349; Menard, 1225; Mercer, 1848; Monroe, 1227; Montgomery, 1620; Morgan, 2732; Moultrie, 773; Ogle, 2953; Peoria, 4907; Perry, 1468; Piatt, 1055; Pike, 3132; Pope, 1253; Pulaski, 643; Putnam, 707; Randolph, 2099; Richland, 1577; Rock Island, 2473; Saline, 1280; Sangamon, 5010; Schuyler, 1570; Scott, 1212; Shelby, 270; Stark, 1084; St. Clair, 4396; Stephenson, 3168; Tazewell, 2700; Union, 1846; Vermilion, 2596; Wabash, 707; Warren, 2455; Washington, 1744; Wayne, 1613; White, 1984; Whiteside, 2535; Will, 3696; Williamson, 1575; Winnebago, 3187; Woodford, 1643.

The total number was 226,592, being apportioned among two regiments of artillery, seventeen cavalry, and one hundred and forty-nine infantry.

The grand total of Illinois soldiers who gave their lives in defence of their country's flag, as recorded in the Adjutant-General's office, is 28,842, but who can tell how many since the close of that never-to-be-forgotten struggle, have gone to their eternal rest.

ALLEN C. FULLER.

Among the many men who served the State with distinction during the war, deserving special mention in this connection, is Gen. Allen C. Fuller, who occupied a seat upon the bench in the thirteenth circuit, in 1861, when he was tendered the appointment of Adjutant-General. His high character as a man, and his splendid executive ability, soon won for him the confidence and admiration of all with whom he came in contact, and to his sagacity and untiring energy was the State indebted to a very large degree for the proud position she attained during the rebellion for promptness in organizing and arming her soldiers. A committee of the General Assembly which had been appointed to examine his office, was unanimous in praise of its management. We make the following extract from that report:

"That we have thoroughly examined the office of the Auditor-General, and find it a model in completeness, exactness, and its glory the proud records of our country, and reflects infinite credit upon the great men who are they are."

In the report of the Committee, the thanks of every American heart there are due to Gen. Fuller for the important position in which he has discharged his duties, and for his undeviating, self-sacrificing, and untiring efforts in this glorious record of our Union's history.

Gen. Fuller has written a pamphlet in his biennial report, in defense of Gen. Fuller, and we are sorry to say, it is dedicated to him for his hearty endorsement of the conduct of the Department of the military affairs during the Civil War. Gen. Fuller was elected Representative to the General Assembly, and resigning his commission as General, was elected Speaker of the Assembly. At the approach of the imperial war he was a presidential elector, and heartily thanking him for his services, he was chosen by a unanimous vote adopted by a unanimous vote.

CHAPTER XIX.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

A. T. THOMAS' Application to Become a Candidate for Congressman-at-Large; His Address to His Comrades in His Whom He Was Offered Account of Logan's Dauntless.

It is not our purpose to use these pages for extolling the virtues of the men who took part in the great civil war with one another, but it is due our readers



John A. Dugan



that we should put into history a true statement regarding the position occupied by Gen. John A. Logan at the time of the breaking out of the rebellion, for the reason that it is misunderstood by many persons who are entitled to know the facts as they exist, and for the further reason that the calumny so often uttered against him, should not go down to posterity without an unqualified denial. The substance of all the charges is, that he was disloyal to the Government when the war began, and that he had aided in recruiting soldiers in Illinois for the Southern army; yet among all who have made these charges, from first to last, no man of character or personal responsibility has dared to come forward and make a specific charge or fatter one.

It is said that Logan did not approve the great speech made by Senator Douglas, at Springfield, in April, 1861, wherein he took the bold ground that in the contest which was then clearly imminent to him, between the North and the South, that there could be but two parties, patriots and traitors. But, granting that there was a difference between Douglas and Logan at that time, it did not relate to their adhesion to the cause of their country. Logan had fought for the Union upon the plains of Mexico, and again stood ready to give his life, if need be, for his country, even amid the cowardly slanders that were then following his pathway. The difference between Douglas and Logan was this: Mr. Douglas was fresh from an extended campaign in the dissatisfied sections of the Southern States, and he was fully apprised of their intention to attempt the overthrow of the Union, and was therefore in favor of the most stupendous preparations for war. Mr. Logan, on the other hand, believed in exhausting all peaceable means before a resort to arms, and in this he was like President Lincoln; but when he saw there was no other alternative but to fight, he was ready and willing for armed resistance,

and, resigning his seat in Congress, entered the army as Colonel of the Thirty-first Illinois Infantry, and remained in the field in active service until peace was declared.

In support of the declaration that there is no foundation in fact for the charge of disloyalty against Gen. Logan, we have only to refer briefly to his conduct as a soldier while the war was waged, and to his utterances, which were never doubtful in meaning. Whatever may be the belief of his enemies to the contrary, his acts must forever silence the slander, but his maligners may never be able to distinguish between a desire to settle the differences between the North and the South without a resort to arms, and overt treason to the Government, and we shall not attempt to make them understand it, for there are none so blind as those who can see but will not.

In the summer of 1862, when the Union Republicans and war Democrats were anxious for Gen. Logan to return home and make the race for Congress from the State-at-large, he addressed, under date of August 26, a patriotic letter to O. M. Hatch, Secretary of State, declining the honor. From it we extract this passage:

"I am to-day a soldier of this Republic, so to remain, changeless and immutable, until her last and weakest enemy shall have expired and passed away. Ambitious men, who have not a true love for their country at heart, may bring forth crude and bootless questions to agitate the pulse of our troubled Nation and thwart the preservation of this Union, but for none of such am I. I have entered the field to die, if needs be, for this Government, and never expect to return to peaceful pursuits until the object of this war for preservation has become a fact established."

In view of the extraordinary position assumed by the Twenty-third General Assembly in regard to the prosecution of the war, Gen. Logan issued a stirring address while at Memphis, Tennessee, under date of February 12, 1863, to the soldiers under his command, from which we make the following extract:

"I am aware that influences of the most discouraging and treasonable character, well calculated and designed to render you dissatisfied, have recently been brought to bear upon some of you by professed friends. Newspapers, containing treasonable articles, artfully falsifying the public sentiment at your homes, have been circulated in your camps. Intriguing political tricksters, demagogues and time-servers, whose corrupt deeds are but a faint reflex of their more corrupt hearts, seem determined to drive our people on to anarchy and destruction. They have hoped, by magnifying the reverses of our arms, basely misrepresenting the conduct and slandering the character of our soldiers in the field, and boldly denouncing the acts of the constituted authorities of the Government as unconstitutional usurpations, to produce general demoralization in the army, and thereby reap their political reward, weaken the cause we have espoused, and aid those arch traitors of the South to dismember our mighty Republic, and trail in the dust the emblem of our National unity, greatness and glory. Let me remind you, my countrymen, that we are soldiers of the Federal Union, armed for the preservation of the Federal Constitution, and the maintenance of its laws and authority. Upon your faithfulness and devotion, heroism and gallantry, depend its perpetuity. To us has been committed this sacred inheritance, baptized in the blood of our fathers. We are soldiers of a Government that has always blessed us with prosperity and happiness.

"It has given to every American citizen the largest freedom and the most perfect equality of rights and privileges. It has afforded us security in person and property, and blessed us until, under its beneficent influence, we were the proudest Nation on earth.

"We should be united in our efforts to put down a rebellion that now, like an earthquake, rocks the Nation from State to State, from center to circumference, and threatens to engulf us all in one common ruin, the horrors of which no pen can portray. We have solemnly sworn to bear true faith to this Government, preserve its Constitution, and defend its glorious flag against all its enemies and opposers. To our hands has been committed the liberties, the prosperity and happiness of future generations. Shall we betray such a trust? Shall the brilliancy of your past achievements be dimmed and tarnished by hesitation, discord and dissension, whilst armed traitors

menace you in front, and unarmed traitors intrigue against you in the rear? We are in no way responsible for any action of the civil authorities. We constitute the military arm of the Government. That the civil power is threatened and attempted to be paralyzed, is the reason for resort to the military power. To aid the civil authorities (not to oppose or obstruct) in the exercise of their authority is our office; and shall we forget this duty, and stop to wrangle and dispute, while the country is bleeding at every pore, on this or that political act or measure, whilst a fearful wail of anguish, wrung from the heart of a distracted people, is borne upon every breeze, and widows and orphans are appealing to us to avenge the loss of their loved ones who have fallen by our side in defence of its old blood-stained banner, and whilst the Temple of Liberty itself is being shaken to the very center by the ruthless blows of traitors who have desecrated our flag, obstructed our National highways, destroyed our peace, desolated our firesides, and draped thousands of our homes in mourning?

"Let us stand firm at our posts of duty and honor, yielding a cheerful obedience to all orders from our superiors, until, by our united efforts, the stars and stripes shall be planted in every city, town and hamlet of the rebellious States. We can then return to our homes and through the ballot-box peaceably redress all our wrongs, if any we have."

It required more courage to write this address than it did to fight a battle, for there was then great opposition all over the North to the liberation of the slaves; even among distinguished Republicans grave doubts were entertained as to the policy of emancipation, and the former declarations of President Lincoln show conclusively that he issued the proclamation with reluctance.

But the best test of General Logan's love of country or patriotism was after the battle before Atlanta, on the 22d of July, 1864, where General McPherson was killed. General Sherman, in his report of this battle, says:

"Not more than half an hour after General McPherson had left me, viz: about 12:30 p. m., of the 22d, his Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Clark, rode up and reported that General McPherson was either dead or a

prisoner; that he had ridden from me to General Dodge's column, moving as heretofore described, and had sent off nearly all his staff and orderlies on various errands, and himself had passed into a narrow path or road that led to the left and rear of General Giles A. Smith's division, which was General Blair's extreme left; that a few minutes after he had entered the woods a sharp volley was heard in that direction, and his horse had come out riderless, having two wounds. The suddenness of this terrible calamity would have overwhelmed me with grief, but the living demanded my whole thoughts. I instantly despatched a staff officer to General John A. Logan, commanding the 15th corps, to tell him what had happened; that he must assume command of the Army of the Tennessee, and hold, stubbornly, the ground already chosen, more especially the hill gained by General Leggett the night before.

About 4 p. m. there was quite a lull, during which the enemy fell forward on the railroad and main Decatur road, and suddenly assailed a regiment which, with a section of guns, had been thrown forward as a kind of picket, and captured the two guns; he then advanced rapidly and broke through our lines at that point, which had been materially weakened by the withdrawal of Colonel Martin's brigade, sent by General Logan's order to the extreme left. The other brigade, General Lightburn, which held this part of the line, fell back in some disorder, about four hundred yards, to a position held by it the night before, leaving the enemy for a time in possession of two batteries, one of which, a 20-pounder Parrott battery of four guns, was most valuable to us, and separating General Wood's and General Harrow's divisions of the 15th corps, that were on the right and left of the railroad. Being in person close by the spot, and appreciating the vast importance of the connection at that point, I ordered certain batteries of General Schofield to be moved to a position somewhat commanding, by a left flank fire, and ordered an incessant fire of shells on the enemy within sight, and the woods beyond, to prevent his reinforcing. I also sent orders to General Logan, which he had already anticipated, to make the 15th corps regain its lost ground at any cost, and instructed General Woods, supported by General Schofield, to use his division and sweep the parapet down from where he held it until he saved the batteries and recovered the lost ground. The whole was executed in superb style, at times our men and

the enemy fighting across the narrow parapet, but at last the enemy gave way and the 15th corps regained its position and all the guns except the two advanced ones which were out of view, and had been removed by the enemy within his main work. With this terminated the battle of the 22d, which cost us 3,722 killed, wounded and prisoners.

"But among the dead was Major-General McPherson, whose body was recovered and brought to me in the heat of the battle, and I had it sent, in charge of his personal staff, back to Marietta, on its way to his Northern home. He was a noble youth, of striking personal appearance, of the highest professional capacity, and with a heart abounding in kindness, that drew to him the affections of all men. His sudden death devolved the command of the army on the no less brave and gallant General Logan, who nobly sustained his reputation and that of his veteran army, and avenged the death of his comrade and commander. The enemy left on the field his dead and wounded, and about a thousand well prisoners. His dead alone are computed by General Logan at 3,240, of which number 2,200 were from actual count, and of these he delivered to the enemy, under a flag of truce, sent in by him (the enemy) 800 bodies. I entertain no doubt that in the battle of July 22d, the enemy sustained an aggregate loss of full 8,000 men."

This was one of the greatest battles of the war, and it was won by General Logan, as General Sherman himself attests, and according to the usages of war he was entitled to command the Army of the Tennessee, but General Sherman, estimating him as only a General of volunteers, pushed him aside and gave the command to General Howard, an officer of the regular army. Other Generals have resigned their commands in the very face of the enemy with far less provocation than this, but General Logan, true to the vow he had taken, never wavered in devotion to the cause of his country, nor did he resign his position until he had seen the stars and stripes triumphantly unfurled over every capitol of every Confederate State.

We have taken occasion to make this defense in this broad and unequivocal manner because we were then a

citizen of the section of the State in which General Logan resided, and because of our personal knowledge of all his movements at that time, and because, as yet, no historian has given the charges the denial their gravity demands; and because, further, it is due him and his family, and his children who are to live after him.

CHAPTER XX.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

An account of his early manhood as written by himself—Speech at Philadelphia—First Inaugural—Speech at Gettysburg—Kentucky Letter—Second Inaugural—Last Speech—Assassination—How Lincoln came to Challenge Douglas—Never an Abolitionist—"I have never kept liquor in my house and will not begin now"—A One-Idea Court.

The subject of this chapter was, perhaps, the most remarkable man of the age in which he lived, and while his life has been written times without number, yet we feel that this volume is the place in which should be preserved some of his most gifted official utterances, together with a brief statement of his early life and tragic death.

We begin with an account of his birth and early manhood, as written by himself to his personal friend, Jesse W. Fell, of Normal. It is a literal copy, being taken from the original.

"I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin county, Ky. My parents were both born in Virginia of undistinguished families—second families, perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in Adams, and others in Macon counties, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham

county, Virginia, to Kentucky, about 1781 or 1782, where, a year or two later, he was killed by Indians—not in battle, but by stealth—when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks county, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like. My father, at the death of his father, was but 6 years of age, and he grew up literally without any education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer county, Indiana, in my 8th year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so-called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond 'readin', writin', and cipherin'' to the rule of three. If a straggler, supposed to understand Latin, happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age, I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the rule of three, but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity. I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was 22. At 21 I came to Illinois, and passed the first year in Macon county. Then I got to New Salem, at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard, county, where I remained a year as a sort of clerk in a store. Then came the Black Hawk war, and I was elected a captain of volunteers—a success which gave me more pleasure than any I have had since. I went into the campaign, was elected; ran for the Legislature the same year (1832) and was beaten—the only time I ever have been beaten by the people. The next and three succeeding biennial elections I was elected to the Legislature. I was not a candidate afterwards. During this Legislative period I had studied law and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846, I was elected to the lower house of Congress. Was not a candidate for re-election. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than before. Always a Whig in politics, and generally on the Whig electoral ticket, making active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics, when the repeal of the Missouri

Compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known. If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said I am in height 6 feet, 4 inches nearly, lean in flesh, weighing, on an average, 180 pounds, dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollect.

"Yours very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

"Hon. J. W. FELL."

SPEECH AT PHILADELPHIA.

On his way to Washington to assume the office of President, Mr. Lincoln stopped a day at Philadelphia, and, in response to an address of welcome by the Mayor, he spoke as follows:

"Mr. Mayor and Fellow-citizens of Philadelphia: I appear before you to make no lengthy speech, but to thank you for this reception. The reception you have given me to-night is not to me, the man, the individual, but to the man who temporarily represents, or should represent, the majesty of the Nation. It is true, as your worthy Mayor has said, that there is anxiety amongst the citizens of the United States at this time. I deem it a happy circumstance that this dissatisfied position of our fellow-citizens does not point us to anything in which they are being injured, or about to be injured, for which reason I have felt all the while justified in concluding that the crisis, the panic, the anxiety of the country at this time is artificial. If there be those who differ with me upon this subject, they have not pointed out the substantial difficulty that exists. I do not mean to say that an artificial panic may not do considerable harm; that it has done such I do not deny. The hope that has been expressed by your Mayor, that I may be able to restore peace, harmony, and prosperity to the country, is most worthy of him; and happy, indeed, will I be if I shall be able to verify and fulfill that hope. I promise you, in all sincerity, that I bring to the work a sincere heart. Whether I will bring a head equal to that heart will be for future times to determine. It were useless for me to speak of details of plans now; I shall speak officially next Monday week, if ever. If I should not speak then it were useless for me to do so now. When

I do speak I shall take such ground as I deem best calculated to restore peace, harmony, and prosperity to the country, and tend to the perpetuity of the Nation and the liberty of these States and these people. Your worthy Mayor has expressed the wish, in which I join with him, that it were convenient for me to remain in your city long enough to consult your merchants and manufacturers; or, as it were, to listen to those breathings rising within the consecrated walls wherein the Constitution of the United States, and I will add, the Declaration of Independence, were originally framed and adopted. I assure you and your Mayor that I had hoped, on this occasion, and upon all occasions during my life, that I shall do nothing inconsistent with the teachings of these holy and most sacred walls. I never asked anything that does not breathe from these walls. All my political warfare has been in favor of the teachings that came forth from these sacred walls. 'May my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth,' if ever I prove false to those teachings. Fellow-citizens, I have addressed you longer than I expected to do, and now allow me to bid you good night."

EXTRACT FROM HIS FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

"*Fellow Citizens of the United States:* In compliance with a custom as old as the Government itself, I appear before you to address you briefly, and to take, in your presence, the oath prescribed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken by the President 'before he enters the execution of his office.'

"I do not consider it necessary at present for me to discuss those matters of administration about which there is no special anxiety or excitement.

"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the public speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I

have no inclination to do so.' Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

"Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.'

"I now reiterate those sentiments; and, in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistent with the Constitution and laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause—as cheerfully to one section as to another.

"I therefore consider that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part; and I shall perform it, so far as practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary.

"My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there can be an object to hurry any of you in hot haste to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and, on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it, while the new Administration will have

no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there still is no single good reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, our present difficulty.

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you.

"You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government; while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it.

"I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

"The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

SPEECH AT GETTYSBURG.

Extract from a speech made at the dedication of the National Cemetery, at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 19, 1863.

"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new Nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that Nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that Nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is

for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

KENTUCKY LETTER.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 4, 1864.

"A. G. Hodes, Esq., Frankfort, Kentucky.

"MY DEAR SIR:—You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally stated the other day, in your presence, to Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows:

"I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel; and yet I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it in my view that I might take the oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery. I had publicly declared this many times, and in many ways; and I aver that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery. I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability, imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means, that Government, that Nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the Nation, and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life, but life is never wisely given to save a limb. I felt that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful by becoming

indispensable to the preservation of the Nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now avow it. I could not feel that, to the best of my ability, I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if, to save slavery, or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of government, country, and constitution altogether. When, early in the war, General Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it, because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When a little later, General Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When, still later, General Hunter attempted military emancipation I forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come. When, in March and May and July, 1862, I made earnest and successive appeals to the border States to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation and arming the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition; and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative of either surrendering the Union, and in it the Constitution, or of laying strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it in our foreign relations, none in home popular sentiment, none in our white military force, —no loss by it anyhow or anywhere. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen, and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have men, and we could not have had them without the measure.

“ And now let any Union man who complains of the measure test himself by writing down in one line that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms, and in the next that he is for taking three (one?) hundred and thirty thousand men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his case so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth.

“ I add a word which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me. Now,

at the end of three years' struggle, the Nation's condition is not what either party or any man desired or expected. God alone can claim it. Whither it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and wills also that we of the North as well as you of the South shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new causes to attest and revere the justice and goodness of God.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN."

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

"*Fellow-Countrymen:* At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the Nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably encouraging to all.

"With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured. On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it; all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it, without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects, by negotiation.

"Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the Nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish; and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest, was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union by

war, while the Government claimed the right to do no more than to restrict the Territorial enlargement of it.

"Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and prayed to the same God, and each invoked His aid against the other.

"It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces. But let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayer of both should not be answered—that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. 'Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of the offenses that in the providence of God must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now so wills to remove that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern that there is any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him. Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away; yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword—as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, and care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

LAST SPEECH.

This speech was delivered April 11, after the surrender of Lee, in response to a call from a vast multitude who

had assembled to rejoice over the victory our army had won:

"We meet this evening not in sorrow, but gladness of heart. The evacuation of Petersburg and Richmond, and the surrender of the principal insurgent army, gives hopes of a righteous and speedy peace, whose joyous expressions can not be restrained. In the midst of this, however, He from whom all blessings flow must not be forgotten. A call for a National thanksgiving is being prepared, and will be duly promulgated. Nor must those whose harder part gives us the cause of rejoicing be overlooked. Their honors must not be parceled out with others. I myself was near the front, and had the high pleasure of transmitting much of the good news to you. But no part of the honor for plan or execution is mine. To Gen. Grant, his skillful officers and brave men, all belongs. The gallant navy stood ready, but was not in reach to take active part. By these recent successes the reinauguration of the National authority—reconstruction, which has had a large share of thought from the first—is pressed much more closely upon our attention. It is fraught with great difficulty. Unlike a war between independent nations, there is no authorized organ for us to treat with. No one man has authority to give up the rebellion for any other man. We must simply begin with, and mold from, disorganized and discordant elements. Nor is it a small additional embarrassment, that we, the loyal people, differ among ourselves as to the mode, manner and measure of reconstruction. As a general rule, I abstain from reading the reports of attacks upon myself, wishing not to be provoked by that to which I can not properly offer an answer. In spite of this precaution, however, it comes to my knowledge that I am much censured for some supposed agency in setting up and seeking to sustain the new State government of Louisiana. In this I have done just so much, and no more, than the public knows. In the annual message of December, 1863, and the accompanying proclamation, I presented a plan of reconstruction, as the phrase goes, which I promised, if adopted by any State, would be acceptable to and sustained by the Executive Government of the Nation. I distinctly stated that this was not the only plan which might possibly be acceptable; and I also distinctly protested that the Executive claimed no right to say when or whether members should be admitted to seats in Congress from such States. This plan was in

advance submitted to the then Cabinet, and approved by every member of it. One of them suggested that I should then, and in that connection, apply the Emancipation Proclamation to the heretofore excepted parts of Virginia and Louisiana, that I should drop the suggestion about apprenticeship for freed people, and that I should omit the protest against my own power in regard to the admission of members of Congress. But even he approved every part and parcel of the plan which has since been employed or touched by the action of Louisiana. The new constitution of Louisiana, declaring emancipation for the whole State, practically applies the proclamation to the part previously excepted. It does not adopt apprenticeship for freed people, and is silent, as it could not well be otherwise, about the admission of members to Congress. So that as it applied to Louisiana, every member of the Cabinet fully approved the plan. The message went to Congress, and I received many commendations of the plan, written and verbal, and not a single objection to it, from any professed emancipationist, came to my knowledge until after the news reached Washington that the people of Louisiana had begun to move in accordance with it. From about July, 1862, I had corresponded with different persons supposed to be interested in seeking a reconstruction of a State government for Louisiana. When the message of 1863, with the plan before mentioned, reached New Orleans, Gen. Banks wrote to me that he was confident that the people, with his military co-operation, would reconstruct substantially on that plan. I wrote to him and some of them to try it. They tried it, and the result is known. Such has been my only agency in getting up the Louisiana government. As to sustaining it, my promise is out, as before stated. But as bad promises are better broken than kept, I shall treat this as a bad promise, and break it whenever I shall be convinced that keeping it is adverse to the public interest, but I have not yet been so convinced.

"I have been shown a letter on this subject, supposed to be an able one, in which the writer expresses regret that my mind has not seemed to be definitely fixed on the question whether the seceded States, so-called, are in the Union or out of it. It would, perhaps, add astonishment to his regret were he to learn that since I have found professed Union men endeavoring to answer that question I have purposely forebore any public expression upon it.

As appears to me, that question has not been, nor yet is a practically material one, and that any discussion of it while it thus remains practically immaterial, could have no effect other than the mischievous one of dividing our friends. As yet, whatever it may become, that question is had as a basis of a controversy and good for nothing at all—a merely pernicious abstraction. We all agree that the seceded States, so-called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union, and that the sole object of the Government, civil and military, in regard to those States, is to again get them into their proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but, in fact, easier to do this without deciding, or even considering, whether those States have ever been out of the Union than with it. Finding themselves safely at home it would be utterly immaterial whether they had been abroad. Let us all join in doing the acts necessary to restore the proper practical relations between those States and the Nation, and each forever after innocently indulge his own opinion whether in doing the acts he brought the States from without into the Union, or only gave them proper assistance, they never having been out of it. The amount of constituency, so to speak, on which the Louisiana government rests, would be more satisfactory to all if it contained 50,000, or 30,000, or even 20,000, instead of 12,000, as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers. Still the question is not whether the Louisiana government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, will it be wiser to take it as it is and help to improve it, or to reject and disperse? Can Louisiana be brought into practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? Some 12,000 voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a Free State Constitution, giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the Legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man. This Legislature has already voted to ratify the Constitutional amendment recently passed by Congress, abolishing slavery throughout the Nation. These 12,000 persons are thus fully committed

to the Union and to perpetuate freedom in the State; committed to the very things, and nearly all things, the Nation wants, and they ask the Nation's recognition and its assistance to make good this committal. Now if we reject and spurn them we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We in fact say to the white man, you are worthless or worse; we will neither help you, nor be helped by you. To the blacks we say: This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, held to your lips, we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where and how. If this course, discouraging and paralyzing both white and black, has any tendency to bring Louisiana into proper practical relations with the Union, I have so far been unable to perceive it. If, on the contrary, we recognize and sustain the new government of Louisiana, the converse of all this is made true. We encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of 12,000 freemen to adhere to their work, and argue for it, and proselyte for it, and fight for it, and feed it, and grow it, and ripen it to a complete success. The colored man, too, in seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance and energy and daring to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it, than by running backward over them? Concede that the new government of Louisiana is to what it should be as the egg is to the fowl, we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg, than by smashing it. Again, if we reject Louisiana we also reject one vote in favor of the proposed amendment to the National Constitution. To meet this proposition it has been argued that no more than three-fourths of those States which have not attempted secession are necessary to validly ratify the amendment. I do not commit myself against this, further than to say that such a ratification would be questionable, and sure to be persistently questioned, while a ratification by three-fourths of all the States would be unquestioned and unquestionable. I repeat the question. Can Louisiana be brought into proper practical relation with the Union sooner by sustaining, or by discarding her new State government? What has been said of Louisiana will apply to other States. And yet so great peculiarities pertain to each State, and such important and sudden changes occur in the same State, and withal so new and unprecedented is the whole case that no exclusive and

inflexible plan can safely be prescribed as to details and collaterals. Such exclusive and inflexible plan would surely become a new entanglement. Important principles may and must be inflexible. In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper."

ASSASSINATION.

Four days after this speech, April 14, while seated in a private box at Ford's Theater with his wife and some friends, he was shot by an assassin, and died next morning at 7 o'clock. His body was embalmed and lay in state for six days, when it was placed on board a funeral train of nine cars, which started April 21, at 8 a. m., for the burial place at his distant home *via* Baltimore, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis and Chicago, arriving at Springfield, Wednesday, May 3, at 9 a. m., after a journey of thirteen days. Thousands upon thousands of grief-stricken people thronged the funeral route, and everywhere the deepest sorrow was made manifest. At Springfield, his body lay in state one day, and was sorrowfully viewed by multitudes of men and women from all parts of the State, and on May 4 all that was mortal of the great statesman was tenderly and affectionately laid to rest at Oak Ridge Cemetery, where an enduring monument of marble and brass commemorates his memory. But marble and brass can add nothing to the fame of Abraham Lincoln; he builded for himself a monument that will live when these evidences of love and admiration have passed away.

How LINCOLN CAME TO CHALLENGE DOUGLAS.

Soon after Mr. Lincoln had been made the candidate of the Republican party for United States Senator, in opposition to Douglas, he was met by O. M. Hatch, then Secretary of State, who said to Mr. Lincoln:

"You must challenge Douglas to a joint discussion."

"I do not know so well about that," said Lincoln.

"It is Democrats you wish to talk to," replied Hatch, "and if you do not avail yourself of those who assemble to hear Douglas, you may be sure of never having a Democratic audience."

Mr. Lincoln readily saw the force of Mr. Hatch's remarks and his challenge to Douglas on the 24th of July was the result.

NEVER AN ABOLITIONIST.

The whole life and character of Abraham Lincoln shows that while he was always opposed to slavery, he was never an Abolitionist in the sense in which Owen Lovejoy, Charles Sumner, or Wendell Phillips were. A series of resolutions passed both branches of the General Assembly of Illinois, of which he was a member in 1837, praying the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, to which Mr. Lincoln entered his solemn protest in the words following:

"Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same. They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils. They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States. They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that power ought not to be exercised, unless at the request of the people of said District. The difference between these opinions and those contained in said resolutions, is their reason for entering this protest.

"DAN STONE,
"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Representatives of Sangamon County."

(See House Journal of 1837.)

"NEVER KEPT LIQUOR IN MY HOUSE AND WILL NOT BEGIN NOW."

This characteristic incident in the life of Abraham Lincoln was related to us by one who was present at the time it occurred. Soon after Lincoln received the nomination for President at Chicago, Milton Hay, S. M. Cullom, O. M. Hatch and John Bunn met in the State Library to consult as to the manner of entertaining the National Committee, which consisted of one from each State and the President of the Convention, which was soon expected to visit Springfield for the purpose of formally notifying Mr. Lincoln of his nomination. Well understanding his position upon the question of temperance, they were at a loss to know whether to provide liquor for his guests at his home or not. They had not been aware of Mr. Lincoln's presence until this subject was reached, when he stepped forward and decided the matter for them. He said: "I have never kept liquor in my house and will not begin now." We are told that a room was provided at the Chenery House, which was then the leading hotel of Springfield, where the distinguished visitors were supplied with such liquors as they desired. On this question, as upon all others, Lincoln stood upon principle, and he was unwilling to surrender principle in this case, even though in so doing he might advance his own personal interests.

"A ONE-IDEA COURT."

This pleasing anecdote is related to us of Abraham Lincoln by a gentleman who frequented the Supreme Court room in Springfield, when Lincoln practiced before that Court. On one occasion, Judges Breese, Skinner and Caton were in the Library, talking of their boyhood days and the coincidence of their having all been born in the same State—New York—and the same county—Oneida. Just then Lincoln stepped in, and having a few days before lost

a case which had been tried before the Court, in which all three Judges were against him, wittily said: "I thought this was a one-i-da Court, and now I know it."

CHAPTER XXI.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1866.

Aggregate Vote for State Officers—Congressman-at-Large—Congressmen, by Districts.

The Republicans met in State Convention at Springfield, August 8, and nominated George W. Smith, for Treasurer; Newton Bateman, for Superintendent of Public Instruction, and John A. Logan for Congressman-at-Large.

The Democrats held their Convention at the same place, August 29, and nominated Jesse J. Phillips for Treasurer; John M. Crebs, for Superintendent of Public Instruction, and T. Lyle Dickey for Congressman-at-Large.

The Democratic ticket was exceptionally strong, for the reason that it was composed exclusively of War-Democrats—men who had served their country gallantly on the tented field—and it was believed that if the Democrats could carry the State at all, it would be with such a ticket, for, aside from their soldierly qualifications, these gentlemen were personally popular.

The campaign was short but vigorous, Logan and Dickey making the chief canvass, but the Republicans were the victors.

Smith's majority was 55,653; Bateman's, 55,161, and Logan's, 55,590.

The Republicans elected both branches of the Legislature and eleven of the fourteen Congressmen.

The aggregate vote for State officers, Congressman-at-Large, and Congressmen, by districts, is as follows:

TREASURER.

George W. Smith, R	203,019
Jesse J. Phillips, D.....	147,366

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Newton Bateman, R.....	203,339
John M. Crebs, D.....	147,178

CONGRESSMAN-AT-LARGE.

John A. Logan, R.....	203,045
T. Lyle Dickey.....	147,455

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

Norman B. Judd, R.....	15,247
M. R. M. Wallace.....	5,667

SECOND DISTRICT.

John F. Farnsworth, R.....	16,185
E. M. Haines.....	8,346

THIRD DISTRICT.

Elihu B. Washburne, R	14,657
Thomas J. Turner.....	8,897

FOURTH DISTRICT.

A. C. Harding, R.....	15,952
John S. Thompson, D.....	13,391

FIFTH DISTRICT.

E. C. Ingersoll, R.....	18,437
Silas Ramsey, D.....	9,665

SIXTH DISTRICT.

B. C. Cook, R.....	15,015
S. W. Harris, D.....	7,721

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

H. P. H. Bromwell, R.....	17,410
Charles Black.....	13,272

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Shelby M. Cullom, R,	18,623
Edwin S. Fowler.....	14,520

NINTH DISTRICT.

Charles E. Lippincott, R.....	14,721
Lewis W. Ross, D.....	15,496

TENTH DISTRICT.

Henry Case, R.....	14,743
A. G. Burr, D.....	17,116

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Edward Kitchell, R.....	14,879
Samuel S. Marshall, D.....	16,668

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

Jehu Baker, R.....	13,032
Wm. R. Morrison, D.....	11,956

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

G. B. Raum, R.....	18,459
Wm. J. Allen, D.....	12,890

CHAPTER XXII.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1867.

Governor—R. J. Oglesby.
 Lieutenant-Governor—William Bross.
 Secretary of State—Sharon Tyndale.
 Auditor of Public Accounts—O. H. Miner.
 Treasurer—Geo. W. Smith.
 Superintendent of Public Instruction—Newton Bateman.
 Attorney-General—Robert G. Ingersoll.

TWENTY-FIFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Twenty-fifth General Assembly convened January 7, and consisted of the following members:

SENATE.

Daniel W. Munn, Cairo.	Jas. Strain, Monmouth.
John W. Wescott, Xenia.	T. A. Boyd, Lewiston.
Dan'l Reily, Kaskaskia.	G. L. Fort, Lacon.
David K. Green, Salem.	W. Bushnell, Ottawa.
A. W. Metcalf, Edwardsville.	A. W. Mack, Kankakee.
Wm. Shepherd, Jerseyville.	Wm. Patton, Sandwich.
J. M. Woodson, Carlinville.	D. J. Pinckney, Mt. Morris.
A. J. Hunter, Paris.	A. Webster, Rock Island.
J. L. Tincher, Danville.	J. H. Addams, Cedarville.
W. H. Cheney, Cheney's Gr.	A. C. Fuller, Belvidere.
John B. Cohrs, Pekin.	F. A. Eastman, Chicago.
M. McConnel, Jacksonville.	J. D. Ward, Chicago.
S. R. Chittenden, Mendon.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

N. R. Casey, Mound City.	Wm. C. Shirley, Staunton.
P. G. Clemens, New Liberty.	R. M. Knapp, Jerseyville.
Jas. Macklin, Harrisburg.	H. C. Withers, Carrollton.
J. M. Sharp, Mt. Carmel.	J. H. Dennis, Chambersburg.
N. Johnson, Mt. Vernon.	T. Hollowbush, Naples.
Hugh Gregg, Marion.	Jas. M. Epler, Virginia.
Dan'l Hay, Nashville.	John M. Beesley, Bath.
W. K. Murphy, Pinckneyville.	F. G. Farrell, Jacksonville.
J. Campbell, Steel's Mills.	H. L. Warren, Quincy.
E. N. Bates, Centralia.	P. J. Corkins, Fairweather.
R. P. Hanna, Fairfield,	A. Hanson, Bushnell.
D. W. Odell, Oblong.	Geo. W. Metz, Rushville.
Eli Bowyer, Olney.	J. G. Fonda, Fountain Green.
Geo. W. Cornwell, Mason.	Dan'l W. Sedwick, Suez.
Patrick Dolan, Enfield.	F. M. Bruner, Monmouth.
A. B. Pope, East St. Louis.	John Gray, Wataga.
A. Thompson, Belleville.	Caleb B. Cox, Vermont.
John H. Yager, Alton.	Geo. W. Fox, Ellisville.
J. F. Alexander, Greenville.	Thos. C. Moore, Peoria.
E. Harlan, Marshall.	S. F. Ottman, Wyoming.
Chas. Voris, Windsor.	Wm. W. Sellers, Pekin.
J. B. Ricks, Taylorville.	Wm. M. Smith, Lexington.
J. C. Conkling, Springfield.	H. S. Green, Clinton.
Wm. McGalliard, Lincoln.	Jas. M. True, Mattoon.

Malden Jones, Tuscola.	S. A. Hurlbut, Belvidere.
N. B. Stage, Bloomfield,	R. Hampton, E. Paw Paw.
Clark R. Griggs, Urbana.	Jas. W. Eddy, Batavia.
A. B. Bunn, Decatur.	Wm. P. Pierce, Lisbon.
Dan'l S. Parker, Kankakee.	E. B. Payne, Waukegan.
Geo. E. King, Watseka.	T. B. Wakeman, Harvard.
Phil. Collins, Morris.	A. I. Enoch, Rockford.
R. Clow, East Wheatland.	Jos. M. Bailey, Freeport.
Wm. Strawn, Odell.	Elijah Funk, Mt. Carroll.
E. Baldwin, Farm Ridge.	Henry Green, Elizabeth.
F. Corwin, LaSalle.	Henry C. Childs, Wheaton.
Wm. C. Stacey, Princeton.	Lester L. Bond, Chicago.
R. T. Cassell, Metamora.	Jos. S. Reynolds, Chicago.
A. P. Webber, Henry.	H. M. Singer, Chicago.
Aug. Allen, Geneseo.	M. W. Leavitt, Chicago.
A. S. Coe, Port Byron.	H. M. Shepherd, Chicago.
Jas. Dinsmoor, Sterling.	A. F. Stevenson, Chicago.
G. Ryon, Paw Paw Grove.	E. S. Taylor, Evanston.
T. J. Hewitt, Foreston.	

Lieutenant-Governor Gross presided over the Senate, and Chauncey Ellwood, of DeKalb, was elected Secretary, over J. R. Flynn, of Macoupin, by a vote of 17 to 7.

Franklin Corwin, of LaSalle, was elected Speaker of the House, over Newton R. Casey, of Pulaski, by a vote of 58 to 24. Stephen G. Paddock, of Bureau, was elected Clerk, over M. B. Friend, of Cass, by a vote of 58 to 24.

Among the new members of this Assembly who were able and active were: Munn, Boyd, Fort, Casey, Bates, Hanna, Bowyer, Conkling, Knapp, Hurlbut.

The Governor's message was presented to the Assembly on the 7th. It was an able and somewhat lengthy state paper, in which was a careful and practical discussion of all the State interests. During the two years ending December 1, 1866, the State debt had been reduced \$2,607,958.46. The experimental school for idiots, under the direction of Dr. C. T. Wilbur, which was authorized by the previous General Assembly, having proved successful, he recommended additional appropriations in that behalf, as also for the Soldiers' Orphans' Home; recommended an appropriation for a monument to the memory of Abraham

Lincoln; renewed his recommendation in favor of an Industrial College; supported an appropriation in favor of having Illinois properly represented at the Universal Exposition of the Industry of all Nations, at Paris; favored the establishment of a house for the correction of juvenile offenders; recommended a reform in the pardoning power; called attention to the necessity of calling a convention to revise the Constitution.

The two houses met in joint session, January 15, and re-elected Lyman Trumbull United States Senator, over T. Lyle Dickey, by a vote of 76 to 33.

This body was in session fifty-two days. Acts were passed to provide for the erection of a new State House; to locate, construct and carry on the Southern Illinois Penitentiary; to aid the Illinois Soldiers' College; to declare the Normal University, at Normal, a State institution; to remove the remains of Gov. Wm. H. Bissell to Oak Ridge cemetery, and to erect a monument over the same; to establish a Reform School for Juvenile Offenders; to create the office of Attorney-General; to establish a State Board of Equalization of Assessments; to locate the Industrial University; to provide for reducing the rate of State taxation for payment of interest on the public debt; to regulate warehousemen, and authorize connections of railroads with warehouses, and the 14th amendment to the National Constitution was ratified.

Under the law creating the office, Robert G. Ingersoll was appointed Attorney-General.

SPECIAL SESSION.

Gov. Oglesby convened the General Assembly in special session, June 11, to provide, among other things, for the passage of a law for the assessment and collection of taxes on the shares of capital stock in banks and banking associations, and to amend an act entitled "An act to incorporate

the Mississippi River and Wisconsin State Line Railroad Company," approved February 28, 1867.

A second special session was convened, June 14, to provide for the management of the Illinois State Penitentiary at Joliet. The lessee of the penitentiary, without warning, had surrendered the lease to the Governor, and hence this special session. The law passed at this session laid the foundation for the present admirable system of penitentiary government.

CHAPTER XXIII.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1868.

Aggregate Vote for State Officers—Aggregate Vote for Members of Congress—Aggregate Vote for Presidential Electors.

The year 1868 brought the people together in another National struggle for the election of a President and Vice-President, and again the State was made to resound with the thunder of party tactics. The Republican State Convention met at Peoria May 6, to nominate a State ticket and appoint delegates to the National Convention. John M. Palmer was nominated for Governor; John Dougherty, for Lieutenant-Governor; Edward Rummel, for Secretary of State; Charles E. Lippincott, for Auditor; Erastus N. Bates, for Treasurer; Washington Bushnell, for Attorney-General, and John A. Logan for Congressman-at-Large. The Democrats met May 7, at the same place for the same purpose. John R. Eden was nominated for Governor; William H. Van Epps, for Lieutenant-Governor; Gustav Van Horbeke, for Secretary of State; John R. Shannon, for Auditor; Jesse J. Phillips, for

Treasurer; Robert E. Williams, for Attorney-General, and William W. O'Brien for Congressman-at-Large.

U. S. Grant, of Illinois, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, were nominated at Chicago May 20, by the Republican National Convention, for President and Vice-President. The Democratic National Convention met at New York July 4, and nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, for President and Vice-President.

State issues were completely absorbed in the discussion of National questions growing out of the war, and the best talent of both parties was brought actively into the campaign, and every county and district vigorously canvassed, and for many months the voice of the political orator was heard in the remotest portions of the State. The Republicans, however, were victorious in the State and Nation. Of the fourteen Congressmen elected, eleven were Republican, and both branches of the Legislature were Republican.

The aggregate vote for State officers, Congressman-at-Large, Congressmen, by districts, and Presidential electors, is as follows:

GOVERNOR.

John M. Palmer, R.....	249,912
John R. Eden, D.....	199,813

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

John Dougherty, R.....	249,874
Wm. H. Van Epps, D.....	199,860

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Edward Rummel, R.....	249,952
Gustav Van Horbeke, D.....	199,485

AUDITOR.

Charles E. Lippincott, R.....	249,654
John R. Shannon, D.....	199,754

TREASURER.

Erastus N. Bates, R.....	249,972
Jesse J. Phillips, D	199,859

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Wash. Bushnell, R.....	249,087
Robert E. Williams, D.....	199,895

CONGRESSMAN-AT-LARGE.

John A. Logan, R.....	249,422
William W. O'Brien, D.....	199,789

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

Norman B. Judd, R.....	27,414
M. R. M. Wallace, D.....	19,233

SECOND DISTRICT.

John F. Farnsworth, R.....	20,725
A. M. Herrington, D.....	6,307

THIRD DISTRICT.

E. B. Washburne, R.....	18,584
W. J. McKim, D.....	9,612

FOURTH DISTRICT.

John B. Hawley, R.....	17,269
James W. Singleton, D.....	15,547

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Ebon C. Ingersoll, R.....	20,991
John N. Niglas, D.....	13,686

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Burton C. Cook, R.....	19,607
Oliver C. Gray, D.....	11,946

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Jesse H. Moore, R.....	22,321
Thomas Brewer, D.....	17,171

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Shelby M. Cullom, R.....	22,198
B. S. Edwards, D.....	19,309

NINTH DISTRICT.

Leonard F. Ross, R.....	15,279
Thompson W. McNeely, D.....	17,877

TENTH DISTRICT.

Jonathan B. Turner, R.....	17,897
Albert G. Burr, D.....	21,420

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

James S. Martin, R.....	16,642
Samuel S. Marshall, D.....	20,475

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

John B. Hay, R.....	14,980
Wm. H. Snyder, D.....	18,888

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

Green B. Raum, R.....	14,261
John M. Crebs, D.....	14,764

ELECTORS—SEYMORE.

John A. McClelland.....	} ...* 199,148
David A. Gage.....	
Silas L. Bryan.....	
E. F. Colby.....	
Richard Bishop.....	
Edward F. Dutcher.....	
Delos P. Phelps.....	
John T. Lindsay.....	
Perry A. Armstrong.....	
Charles Black.....	
James S. Ewing.....	
Simeon P. Shope.....	
George N. Holliday.....	
William B. Anderson.....	
Edward M. West.....	
Charles Burnett.....	

ELECTORS—GRANT.

Gustavus Kœrner	} * 250,293
Thomas J. Henderson.....	
Stephen A. Hurlbut.....	
Lorenz Brentano	
Jesse S. Hildrup	
James McCoy	
Henry W. Draper.....	
Thomas G. Frost	
Joseph O. Glover	
John W. Blackburn	
Samuel C. Parks	
Damon G. Tunnicliff.....	
John D. Strong	
Edward Kitchell	
Charles F. Springer.....	
Daniel W. Munn	

* The records in the office of the Secretary of State show only these figures, and it is presumed that they represent the highest number of votes cast for the respective electoral tickets.

CHAPTER XXIV.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1869.

Governor—John M. Palmer.
 Lieutenant-Governor—John Dougherty.
 Secretary of State—Edward Rummel.
 Auditor of Public Accounts—Chas. E. Lippincott.
 Treasurer—Erastus N. Bates.
 Superintendent of Public Instruction—Newton Bateman.
 Attorney-General—Washington Bushnell.

TWENTY-SIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Twenty-sixth General Assembly convened January 4, and consisted of the following members:

SENATE.

Dan'l W. Munn, Cairo.	I. McManus, Keithsburg.
J. J. R. Turney, Fairfield.	T. A. Boyd, Lewiston.
S. K. Casey, Mt. Vernon.	G. L. Fort, Lacon.
J. P. VanDorstan, Vandalia.	J. W. Strevell, Pontiac.
W. C. Flagg, Moro.	Henry Snapp, Joliet.
W. Shepherd, Jerseyville.	Wm. Patton, Sandwich.
J. M. Woodson, Carlinville.	D. J. Pinckney, Mt. Morris.
Edwin Harlan, Marshall.	A. Crawford, Geneseo.
J. L. Tincher, Danville.	J. H. Addams, Cedarville.
J. McNulta, Bloomington.	A. C. Fuller, Belvidere.
A. B. Nicholson, Lincoln.	John C. Dore, Chicago.
J. M. Epler, Virginia.	J. D. Ward, Chicago.
S. R. Chittenden, Mendon.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

N. R. Casey, Mound City.	A. Mittower, Milton.
J. C. Willis, Metropolis.	Henry Dresser, Naples.
C. Burnett, Shawneetown.	J. G. Phillips, Mound Stat'n.
D. H. Morgan, Russellville.	E. Laning, Petersburg.
C. C. M. V. B. Payne, Benton.	S. M. Palmer, Jacksonville.
E. L. Dennison, Marion.	Thos. Jasper, Quincy.
Geo. Gundlach, Carlyle.	J. E. Downing, Camp Point.
J. M. McCutcheon, Sparta.	H. Horrabin, Blandinville.
T. H. Burgess, DuQuoin.	John Ewing, Littleton.
T. E. Merritt, Salem.	A. J. Bradshaw, LaHarpe.
John Halley, Lovilla.	D. M. Findley, Oquawka.
J. Cooper, Willow Hill.	J. Porter, Monmouth.
A. W. Bothwell, Clay City.	W. S. Gale, Galesburg.
Leonard Rush, Vandalia.	T. M. Morse, Middle Grove.
John Landigan, Albion.	John W. Ross, Lewiston.
J. R. Miller, Caseyville.	B. F. Thompson, Bradford.
A. Ross, Mascoutah.	W. E. Phelps, Elmwood.
D. Kerr, Edwardsville.	J. Merriam,* Hittle.
S. H. Challis, Pocahontas.	S. R. Saltonstall,† Tremont.
L. Brookhart, Majority Poi't.	Wm. M. Smith, Lexington.
Chas. Voris, Windsor.	J. Swigart, DeWitt.
E. M. Gilmore, Litchfield.	G. W. Parker, Charleston.
John Cook, Springfield.	J. E. Callaway, Tuscola.
Silas Beason, Lincoln.	S. H. Elliott, Paris.
B. T. Burke, Carlinville.	W. M. Stanley, Sullivan.
T. B. Fuller, Hardin.	J. W. Scroggs, Champaign.
D. M. Woodson, Carrollton.	J. M. Perry, Kankakee.

*Seat contested.

†Admitted to seat of Merriam.

C. H. Frew, Paxton.	Irus Coy, Bristol.
Geo. Gaylord, Lockport.	N. N. Ravlin, Kaneville.
Phil. Collins, Morris.	A. B. Cook, Libertyville.
Wm. Strawn, Odell.	P. W. Dietz, Marengo.
Franklin Corwin, Peru.	E. Sumner, Pecatonica.
Sam'l Wiley, Earlville.	J. M. Bailey, Freeport.
L. D. Whiting, Tiskilwa.	Adam Nase, Mt. Carroll.
Chas. G. Reed, Malden.	H. Green, Elizabeth.
J. W. Hopkins, Grandville.	H. C. Childs, Wheaton.
P. K. Hanna, Green River.	H. B. Miller, Chicago.
H. F. Sickles, Moline.	L. L. Bond, Chicago.
J. Dinsmoor, Sterling.	J. S. Reynolds, Chicago.
Alonzo Kinyon, Amboy.	F. Munson, Chicago.
O. B. Youngs, Hale.	J. C. Knickerbocker, Chicago.
C. W. Marsh, DeKalb.	Iver Lawson, Chicago.
E. H. Talbott, Belvidere.	E. S. Taylor, Evanston.

Lieutenant-Governor Dougherty presided over the Senate, and Chauncey Ellwood was elected Secretary, over James Low, by a vote of 17 to 6.

Franklin Corwin was elected Speaker of the House, over Newton R. Casey, by a vote of 53 to 23, and James P. Root, of Cook, Clerk, over J. Merrick Bush, of Pike, by a vote of 56 to 23.

The message of Oglesby, the retiring Governor, was laid before the two houses on the 4th. It was non-political and was confined exclusively to the discussion of questions relating to the internal affairs of the State. There had been four years of unbroken prosperity. From December 1, 1866 to December 1, 1868, there had been paid on the public debt, principal and interest, \$2,687,114.01, and for the four years commencing December 1, 1864 and ending December 1, 1868, \$4,743,821.44.

The first year of the administration of Gov. Oglesby had been a very laborious one; ten regiments of volunteer soldiers were organized under the last call of the President, and when the rebellion closed the Governor's time was occupied almost wholly, for many months, in giving attention to the details of mustering out of the service the Illinois soldiers. Gov. Oglesby was an eminently

popular man. The Legislature being in harmony with his views, his recommendations were carried out in the greatest measure. The Normal University at Normal was declared a State institution; the Industrial University at Champaign was created; the foundation for the school for feeble-minded children, at Lincoln, was laid; the Eye and Ear Infirmary at Chicago was fostered; the Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Normal was established; the office of Attorney-General was created; a reform in the management of penitentiaries was instituted; a reform school for juvenile offenders was created, and the new State House was begun.

The two houses met in joint session on the 11th of January, when Gov. Palmer took the oath of office and delivered a brief inaugural address, in which he took occasion to urge upon the attention of the General Assembly the recommendations contained in the message of his predecessor. Said he:

"I am able to say that the whole duty of the Governor, to the utmost extent of the requirements of the constitution, has been discharged by my predecessor. The comprehensive message communicated to the General Assembly at the opening of the present session furnishes the amplest information of the state of the government, of the operation of existing laws, and covers, by wise and judicious recommendations, almost every subject in regard to which legislative action can be necessary or expedient.

"I cannot better discharge my duty to the people than by urging upon your attention the information given, and the measures recommended, by the experienced and patriotic statesman who now retires from the executive office which he has filled with such advantage and credit to the State."

This body was in session one hundred and six days—a longer period by far than that of any former General Assembly. The vital public acts which were passed, and received the approval of the Governor, were as follows: Acts to secure the endowment fund of the Illinois Agricultural College; to encourage agricultural societies; to erect

and carry on an asylum for the insane for Northern Illinois; making appropriations for the Illinois Industrial University; to establish and maintain the Southern Illinois Normal University; to appoint a State Agent to collect war claims against the United States; to amend an act establishing a home for the children of deceased soldiers; to provide for building a soldiers' monument at the National Cemetery near Mound City; to aid the Illinois Soldiers' College at Fulton; to amend an act providing for the erection of a new State House; to aid the Eye and Ear Infirmary; to appoint a Board of Commissioners of Public Charities; to provide for calling a convention to revise, alter or amend the Constitution of the State; to allow convicts in the penitentiary a credit for good conduct in the diminution of their term of imprisonment; to prevent cruelty to animals; to facilitate drainage of wet or overflowed lands; to prevent frauds in elections for subscriptions to stock in or for donations in aid of any incorporation; to prevent frauds upon gas consumers and gas companies; to regulate insurance companies; to punish frauds upon insurance companies; to provide for permanent survey of lands; to provide for the preservation of field notes, maps, and other papers appertaining to land titles in the State; to prevent prize-fighting and sparring or boxing exhibitions; to amend the railroad law; to regulate the rate for the conveyance of passengers and freight by railroads; to protect lives and property of persons at railway crossings of the public highways; to fence railroads; to fund and provide for paying the railroad debts of counties, townships, cities and towns; to amend the act establishing the State Board of Equalization; to amend an act condemning the right of way for purposes of public improvement; to amend the school law; to facilitate the transportation of grain, produce and merchandise by railroads; to protect widows and orphans.

from the sacrifice of their property by sales upon mortgages and trust deeds, and the XVth amendment to the National Constitution was ratified.

CHAPTER XXV.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1869-70.

Illinois having outgrown the Constitution of 1848, the Convention which had been elected to amend, alter or revise the same, met at Springfield on the 18th of December, 1869, and was composed of the following delegates, which are given by districts:

- 1st—William J. Allen.
- 2d—George W. Brown.
- 3d—W. G. Bowman.
- 4th—James M. Sharp.
- 5th—William B. Anderson.
- 6th—James M. Washburn.
- 7th—Harvey P. Buxton.
- 8th—J. H. Wilson, George W. Wall.
- 9th—Silas L. Bryan.
- 10th—Robert P. Hanna.
- 11th—James C. Allen.
- 12th—James P. Robinson.
- 13th—Beverly W. Henry,¹ Ferris Forman.²
- 14th—Charles E. McDowell.
- 15th—William H. Snyder, William H. Underwood.
- 16th—Charles F. Springer, Henry W. Billings.³
- 17th—John Scholfield.
- 18th—George R. Wendling.
- 19th—Edward Y. Rice.
- 20th—Milton Hay, Samuel C. Parks.
- 21st—John W. Hankins.

¹Resigned March 3.

²Vice B. W. Henry.

³Died April 19.

- 22d—Robert A. King.
 23d—James W. English.
 24th—William R. Archer, John Abbott.
 25th—William L. Vandeenter.
 26th—O. H. Wright.
 27th—Henry J. Atkins.
 28th—Orville H. Browning, Onias C. Skinner.
 29th—W. H. Neece.
 30th—Jesse C. Fox.
 31st—David Ellis.
 32d—James S. Poage.
 33d—A. G. Kirkpatrick,⁴ Henry Tubbs.⁵
 34th—Alfred M. Craig.
 35th—Lewis W. Ross, Samuel P. Cummings.
 36th—Henry W. Wells, Miles A. Fuller.
 37th—Jonathan Merriam.
 38th—Reuben M. Benjamin, Clifton H. Moore.
 39th—John L. Tincher, Henry P. H. Bromwell, Richard B. Sutherland.
 40th—Charles Emmerson,⁶ Abel Harwood.
 41st—William H. Patterson,⁷ John P. Gamble.⁸
 42d—Addison Goodell.
 43d—William C. Goodhue, W. P. Peirce.
 44th—George S. Eldridge, Joseph Hart, Nathaniel J. Pillsbury.
 45th—L. D. Whiting, James G. Bayne, Peleg S. Perley.
 46th—George E. Wait.
 47th—Calvin Truesdale.
 48th—James McCoy.
 49th—John Dement.
 50th—Joseph Parker.
 51st—Westel W. Sedgwick, Jesse S. Hildrup.
 52d—Charles Wheaton, Henry Sherrill.
 53d—Elijah M. Haines.
 54th—Lawrence S. Church.
 55th—Robert J. Cross.
 56th—Thomas J. Turner.
 57th—William Cary, David C. Wagner.
 58th—Hiram H. Cody.
 59th—Joseph Medill, John C. Haines, S. Snowden Hayes.
 60th—William F. Coolbaugh, Charles Hitchcock.
 61st—Elliott Anthony, Daniel Cameron.

⁴Died March 15.⁵Vice A. G. Kirkpatrick.⁶Died April 16.⁷Died January 16.⁸Vice W. H. Patterson.

John Dement was elected President *pro tempore*; Charles Hitchcock, President, and John Q. Harmon, Secretary.

Among the able and active minds of this Convention were: William J. Allen, Bowman, Anderson, Wall, Bryan, Hanna, James C. Allen, McDowell, Snyder, Underwood, Billings, Scholfield, Rice, May, Parks, English, Archer, Vandeventer, Browning, Skinner, Craig, Ross, Wells, Benjamin, Eldridge, Pillsbury, Whiting, Wheaton, Hayner, Church, Turner, Cody, Medill, Dement, Coolbaugh, E. M. Haines and Hitchcock.

The Constitution framed by this Convention has been in force full fourteen years, and has been accepted as one of the wisest and best organic laws ever framed.

CHAPTER XXVI.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1870.

The year 1870 was rather a spiritless State campaign; neither of the great parties were in a hurry to go into the contest; the Republicans did not hold their State Convention until September 1. Erastus N. Bates was nominated for Treasurer; Newton Bateman, for Superintendent of Public Instruction. Both of these gentlemen were the incumbents of the offices to which they sought a re-election. Under the Constitution of 1848 the Treasurer was not restricted to a single term as now.

The Democrats held their Convention September 7 and nominated Charles Ridgely for Treasurer, and Charles Feinse for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The aggregate vote for State officers and members of Congress is as follows:

TREASURER.

Erastus N. Bates, R.....	168,579
Charles Ridgely, D.....	144,923
H. J. Hammond	3,756

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Newton Bateman, R.....	166,859
Charles Feinse, D.....	144,889
Daniel Wilkins.....	3,820

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

Charles B. Farwell, R.....	20,342
John Wentworth.....	15,025

SECOND DISTRICT.

John F. Farnsworth, R.....	8,396
J. C. Stoughton, D.....	6,516
Richard Bishop	2,349
Amos Shepard.....	2

THIRD DISTRICT.

H. C. Burchard, R.....	11,718
Charles Betts	6,219
W. E. Luckens.....	12

FOURTH DISTRICT.

John B. Hawley, R	12,023
P. L. Cable, D.....	11,982

FIFTH DISTRICT.

B. N. Stephens, D.....	11,579
E. C. Ingersoll, R.....	9,963
F. B. Ives	868

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Burton C. Cook, R.....	10,452
Julius Avery, D.....	7,889
Alexander Campbell.....	159

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Jesse H. Moore, R	14,089
Andrew J. Hunter, D	13,418

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

James C. Robinson, D.....	13,702
Jonathan Merriam, R	12,448
George W. Minier.....	1,175

NINTH DISTRICT.

Thompson W. McNeely, D.....	12,693
B. F. Westlake, R.....	10,297

TENTH DISTRICT.

Edward Y. Rice, D.....	13,963
J. W. Kitchell, R	12,028

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Samuel S. Marshall, D.....	15,771
William H. Robinson, R.....	11,444

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

John B. Hay, R.....	10,903
William Hartzell, D.....	10,126

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

John M. Crebs, D.....	13,949
Daniel W. Munn, R.....	12,366

CHAPTER XXVII.

FIDELITY OF STATE OFFICERS.

Canal Scrip Fraud—Letter of Ex-Gov. Matteson to the Committee of Investigation—Mortgage of His Property to Secure the Payment of \$250,000—Macallister & Stebbins Bonds Fraud—Gov. Bissell's Emphatic Denial of any Knowledge of the Fraud.

It is a matter of congratulation and pride to know that Illinois has never lost anything by her State officers. The Treasurers of other States have not unfrequently defaulted

in large sums of money, but those of Illinois have always been faithful to their trusts.

The nearest the State ever came to losing money of any considerable amount, was during the administration of Gov. Joel A. Matteson, but the matter was not discovered until the early part of 1859, two years after he had gone out of office. The General Assembly being in session, the Senate appointed a committee of investigation, consisting of S. W. Fuller, B. C. Cook, A. J. Kuykendall, Z. Applington and S. A. Buckmaster. On February 9, 1859, Mr. Matteson addressed the following letter to the committee:

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., Feb. 9, 1859.

To the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee:

SIR—At the date of my former communication to the chairman of the Senate committee, I supposed the validity of the bonds issued to me for canal scrip, of the issues of May and August, 1839, was supposed to depend upon the genuineness of the scrip. Since, to my great surprise, the fact is established that these scrip, or checks, though genuine, have been redeemed by the officers and agents of the State many years since, and have been, by some person or persons unknown to me, abstracted from the places where they were deposited, and again put in circulation. With perfect innocence on my part, and without the remotest suspicion that the scrip had ever been redeemed, these checks were purchased by me of different persons, for their cash value at the time, upon actual payment of money therefor.

I have thus unconsciously and innocently been made the instrument through whom a gross fraud upon the State has been attempted.

My past relations to the people of this State, and my earnest desire for the preservation of my own reputation pure and spotless, render me unwilling to retain these bonds, although purchased by and issued to me *bona fide*, and for a valuable consideration. I am willing, rather than possess one cent that the State of Illinois ought not to pay, even though the courts might decide that by the strict rules of law my rights to these bonds could not be impeached, to sustain myself the whole loss, and to return

all the money and evidences of indebtedness of every kind I have received of the State on account of these checks or any bonds issued for them.

The bonds are already deposited as security for the circulation of the State Bank. I will indemnify the State against all liability on these bonds, and provide for the repayment of any money or evidences of indebtedness received as aforesaid, by and with any kind of security that may reasonably be required therefor. Of course it may take some time to replace so large an amount, and I propose that upon my giving the security above indicated, satisfactory to the proper officer, the bonds remain and be held as security for the circulation of the State Bank, with the privilege to me, from time to time, to replace them with other securities, and as thus replaced they shall be canceled by the Governor.

The same regard for my reputation (which is of more value to me than any amount of money), that, in connection with my unwillingness to profit by the loss of the State, has prompted the foregoing proposition, also leads me to ask, as an act of justice to myself, that the investigation commenced by the committee should be continued. I will lend every assistance in my power to render it thorough and searching, resulting in the discovery of the commencement of the wrong, if not the perpetrators. For this purpose, I hope, if necessary, the committee will be authorized to act in vacation. From my acquaintance with the gentlemen composing the committee, as well as from the courtesy already manifested by them to me, I doubt not they will be willing to continue the investigation even after the adjournment, if necessary.

J. A. MATTESON.

The investigation continued until 1861, through this and other committees acting under authority of the General Assembly, and although an elaborate report was finally made, the names of the perpetrators of the fraud were never revealed. On Record "F" we find that judgment was rendered against Mr. Matteson in the Sangamon Circuit Court, October 28, 1862, for \$250,000. Agreeably to the proposition made in his letter of February 9, 1859, Mr. Matteson executed to the State a mortgage on real estate, which included his elegant residence in Springfield, in an

amount deemed sufficient to pay the judgment, and by an act of the General Assembly approved February 14, 1863, Alexander Starne was appointed trustee. The mortgage was foreclosed, but the property did not sell for sufficient to satisfy the judgment, and subsequently A. B. Safford, of Cairo, turned over to the State, for the benefit of Mr. Matteson, lands in Henry county valued at \$30,000. We are informed by the trustee, Mr. Starne, that the property has all been sold except a few tracts of land in Peoria and Henry counties, and some town lots in Joliet and LaSalle, worth altogether about \$15,000, which, when sold, it is believed, will satisfy, in full, the principal of the judgment, if not the interest.

Whatever may have been the real facts in regard to this fraudulent proceeding, so far as Gov. Matteson himself is concerned, considering his previous high character and the exalted position he had held at the hands of the people of his State, the charitable reader will give the statement in his letter relating to his personal connection with the fraud the consideration it is entitled to.

In 1859, there was a similar attempt to defraud the State out of a large sum of money, through what is known as the Macallister & Stebbins bonds, but it was unsuccessful. An effort was made to fasten its responsibility upon the administration of Gov. Bissell, but he was prompt to deny all knowledge of it in terms that had no doubtful meaning, and which carried with them a belief of his entire innocence.





Rufus C. Peck
John H. Palmer

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE END OF THE WORLD.

"The world is coming to an end," said the old man, "and we must all die."

"I am not afraid of death," said the young man, "but I am afraid of the world."

"I will tell you a secret," said the old man, "that will make you happy." "What is it?" asked the young man. "It is this," said the old man, "that the world is not coming to an end, and that we do not have to die." "How can you know that?" asked the young man. "I have been here for a long time, and I have seen many things," said the old man. "I have seen the world change, and I have seen people come and go. But I have also seen people live and grow old, and I have seen them die. And I have seen the world change again, and I have seen people come and go again. So I know that the world is not coming to an end, and that we do not have to die." "That is good news," said the young man. "Thank you for telling me." "You are welcome," said the old man. "Now, if you will excuse me, I must go to sleep." "Good night," said the young man.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1871.

Governor—John M. Palmer.

Lieutenant-Governor—John Dougherty.

Secretary of State—Edward Rummel.

Auditor of Public Accounts—Chas. E. Lippincott.

Treasurer—Erastus N. Bates.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—Newton Bateman.

Attorney-General—Washington Bushnell.

TWENTY-SEVENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—FIRST SESSION.

The first session of the Twenty-seventh General Assembly convened January 4, and adjourned, April 17, until November 15. The assembly was composed of the following members:

SENATE.

Simeon K. Gibson, ¹ Equality.	Charles Voris, Windsor.
T. A. E. Holcomb, S. Pass.	Edwin Harlan, Marshall.
Wm. G. Bowman. ²	Robert N. Bishop, Paris.
J. Jackson, Lawrenceville.	John L. Tincher, Danville.
John Landigan, Albion.	J. W. Langley, Champaign.
S. K. Casey, ¹ Mt. Vernon.	J. McNulta, Bloomington.
J. M. Washburn, Fredonia.	M. Donahue, Clinton.
W. B. Anderson, ³ Mt. Vernon	A. B. Nicholson, Lincoln.
J. P. VanDorstan, Vandalia.	Alex. Starne, Springfield.
J. F. Alexander, Greenville.	J. M. Epler, Jacksonville.
Willard C. Flagg, Moro.	Edward Laning, Petersburg.
W. H. Underwood, Belleville.	J. H. Richardson, Quincy.
Wm. Shepard, ⁴ Jerseyville.	Jesse C. Williams, Carthage.
J. M. Bush, Pittsfield.	Benj. R. Hampton, Macomb.
Wm. H. Allen. ⁵	Harvey S. Senter, Aledo,
L. Solomon, Vancil's Point.	T. A. Boyd, Lewiston.

¹Died.

²Vice Simeon K. Gibson, deceased.

³Vice Samuel K. Casey, deceased.

⁴Resigned.

⁵Vice Wm. Shepard, resigned.

Henry J. Vaughn, Victoria.	A. Crawford, Geneseo.
Mark Bangs, Lacon.	L. D. Whiting, Tiskilwa.
Lucien H. Kerr, Peoria.	W. A. Little, ¹ Elizabeth.
Jason W. Strevell, Pontiac.	J. M. Hunter, Mt. Carroll.
Wm. Reddick, Ottawa.	Allen C. Fuller, Belvidere.
Henry Snapp, ² Joliet.	John Early, Rockford.
Wm. P. Pierce, Minooka.	John C. Dore, Chicago.
John F. Daggatt. ³	John N. Jewett, Chicago.
Chas. W. Marsh, Sycamore.	Willard Woodard, Chicago.
James W. Eddy, Batavia.	J. L. Beveridge, ² Evanston.
James K. Edsall, Dixon.	Artemus Carter, ⁷ Chicago.
W. S. Wilkinson, Morrison.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

H. Watson Webb, Cairo.	Sam'l Burnside, Carlyle.
Wm. R. Brown, Metropolis.	D. B. Gillham, Alton.
Geo. W. Waters, Glendale.	A. F. Rodgers, Upper Alton.
J. B. Morray, Reynoldsburg.	Theo. Miller, St. Jacob.
Wm. C. Rich, South Pass.	William Brown, Old Ripley.
Wm. Schwartz, ² Elkville.	Jacob Fouke, Vandalia.
W. A. Lemma, ³ Carbondale.	David Leith ¹ Mason.
Addison Reese, Jr., Marion.	B. F. Kagay, Effingham.
Wm. Elder, Eldorado.	Wm. McElwee, Greenup.
Wm. N. Ayres, Elizabetht'wn	Wm. C. Jones, Robinson.
Frank E. Hay, Carmi.	Wm. T. Briscoe, Westfield.
Calvin Allen, McLeansboro.	Edward Barrett, Neoga.
W. W. Barr, Benton.	John Casey, Moweaqua.
Wm. R. Gass, DuQuoin.	E. Roessler, Shelbyville.
James R. Ralls, Chester.	W. B. Hundley, Taylorville.
D. R. McMasters, Sparta.	Thomas Finley, ¹ Pana.
Wm. R. Morrison, Waterloo.	B. Dornblaser, Assumption.
J. R. Miller, Caseyville.	James M. Berry, Irving.
G. Kœrner, Belleville.	J. N. McElvain, Litchfield.
J. Hinchcliffe, Belleville.	J. N. McMillan, Carlinville.
A. S. Rowley, Richview.	G. A. W. Cloud, Girard.
Thos. S. Casey, Mt. Vernon.	G. W. Herdman, Jerseyville.
A. T. Galbraith, Johnsonville	Robert A. King, Jerseyville.
Walter L. Mayo, Albion.	Thos. H. Boyd, Carrollton.
J. D. Sage, Lawrenceville.	Charles Kenny, Griggsville.
Israel A. Powell, Olney.	Albert Landrum, El Dara.
Osman Pixley, Ingraham.	Jas. M. Riggs, Winchester.
Thos. E. Merritt, Salem.	Newton Cloud, Waverly.
Sam'l L. Dwight, Centralia.	W. H. Barnes, Jacksonville.

¹Died.²Resigned.³Vice Schwartz, resigned.⁴Vice Henry Snapp, resigned.⁵Vice John L. Beveridge, resigned.

Chas. H. Rice, Springfield.	Jas. G. Strong, Dwight.
W. M. Springer, Springfield.	A. L. Cavan, El Paso.
N. R. Taylor, Williamsville.	James M. Rice, Peoria.
Wm. E. Nelson, Decatur.	Samuel Caldwell, Peoria.
Wm. T. Moffitt, Decatur.	John S. Lee, Peoria.
Jonathan Meeker, Sullivan.	Oscar F. Price, Galesburg.
J. R. Cunningham, Charleston.	Jos. F. Latimer, Abingdon.
Azariah Jeffries, Mattoon.	P. H. Sanford, Knoxville.
James Gaines, Ridge Farm.	S. T. Shelton, Monmouth.
Geo. W. Rives, Paris.	J. T. Morgan, Monmouth.
John Cofer, Arcola.	W. A. M. Crouch, Rozetta.
John C. Short, Danville.	S. F. Fleharty, Swedonia.
W. P. Chandler, Danville.	John Morris, Rock Island.
R. C. Wright, Homer.	E. H. Johnston, Port Byron.
J. C. Sheldon, Urbana.	Levi North, Kewanee.
A. L. Rodgers, Cerro Gordo.	Jonas W. Olson, Galva.
Wm. R. Carle, Wapella.	Miles A. Fuller, Toulon.
Peter J. Hawes, Atlanta.	Joseph H. Jones, Henry.
Augustus Reise, Atlanta.	Joseph Reinhardt, Granville.
Wm. W. Easley, Virginia.	Robert Hunter, Tiskilwa.
S. C. Knoles, Petersburg.	P. F. Remsberg, Limerick.
J. G. Phillips, Mt. Sterling.	G. W. Armstrong, Seneca.
S. S. Benson, Huntsville.	Benj. Edgecomb, Utica.
A. H. Trimble, Marceline.	James Clark, Utica.
Maurice Kelly, Liberty.	H. M. Gallagher, Peru.
J. H. Stewart, Quincy.	Phillip Collins, Morris.
G. J. Richardson, Quincy.	W. R. Hickox, Kankakee.
L. Mussetter, Warsaw.	Calvin H. Frew, Paxton.
M. M. Morrill, Nauvoo.	J. H. Daniels, Wilmington.
Wm. H. Neece, Macomb.	W. S. Brooks, Joliet.
James Manley, Macomb.	Robert Clow, E. Wheatland.
John W. Ross, Lewiston.	Henry Sherrill, Lisbon.
S. P. Cummings, Astoria.	W. M. Whitney, Hinsdale.
T. M. Morse, Middle Grove.	Anson S. Clark, Elgin.
M. Langston, Manito.	J. A. Carpenter, Carpenter's.
C. A. Roberts, Pekin.	Wm. H. Miller, Aurora.
Ira B. Hall, Delavan.	R. M. Pritchard, Shabbona.
W. M. Smith, Lexington.	L. M. McEwen, DeKalb.
E. R. Roe, ¹ Bloomington.	N. H. Ryan, Amboy.
W. C. Watkins, Bloomington.	M. J. Braiden, Rochelle.
Geo. W. Funk, McLean.	M. W. Smith, Oregon.
L. H. Kerrick, ² Bloomington.	Jeremiah Davis, Beacon.
Addison Goodell, Loda.	Nathan Williams, Sterling.
Thos. Vennum, Watseka.	Dean S. Efner, Albany.
John Stillwell, Chatsworth.	James Shaw, Mt. Carroll.

¹ Resigned.² Vice E. R. Roe, resigned.

William Cary, Galena.	John D. Easter, Chicago.
H. S. Townsend, Warren.	John Humphrey, Orland.
Thos. J. Turner, Freeport.	A. L. Morrison, Chicago.
Wm. Massenberg, Freeport.	John W. Heafield, Chicago.
Jas. M. Wight, Rockford.	A. J. Galloway, Chicago.
D. Emmons Adams, Laona.	H. B. Brayton, Chicago.
Jesse S. Hildrup, Belvidere.	Simon D. Phelps, Chicago.
W. A. McConnell, Richmond.	James P. Root, Chicago.
Ira R. Curtis, Marengo.	Wm. H. King, Chicago.
W. B. Dodge, Waukegan.	Arthur Dixon, Chicago.
E. M. Haines, Waukegan.	Horace F. Waite, Chicago.
Henry W. Austin, Chicago.	R. S. Williamson, Chicago.
Robert H. Foss, Chicago.	A. H. Burley, Chicago.
Jas. L. Campbell, Chicago.	William Vocke, Chicago.
Carlisle Mason, Chicago.	W. K. Sullivan, Chicago.
Wiley M. Egan, Chicago.	Henry C. Senne, DesPlains.
R. P. Derrickson, Chicago.	

This was the largest assembly of Senators and Representatives that ever convened in the State for the purpose of enacting laws. There were fifty Senators and one hundred and seventy-seven Representatives. The Constitution of 1870 had provided for this representation.

Lieutenant-Gov. Dougherty presided over the Senate, and E. H. Griggs was elected Secretary, over J. M. Davidson, by a vote of 32 to 18.

William M. Smith, of McLean, was elected Speaker of the House, over William R. Morrison, of Monroe, by a vote 101 to 75, and Daniel Shepard, of Cook, Clerk, over E. L. Merritt, of Sangamon, by a vote of 101 to 75.

The Governor's message was laid before the two houses on the 6th. It was an elaborate and able State paper, and gave attention to every question of public importance which claimed the consideration of the Legislature, but he discussed at length the legislation necessary to bring into full force and effect the new Constitution.

The labors of this body were, indeed, arduous. The time was chiefly devoted to the enactment of laws to conform to the new Constitution.

FIRST SPECIAL SESSION.

Having adjourned without making the needed appropriations for carrying on the State Government and continuing the work on the State House, the Governor convened the General Assembly in special session on the 24th of May, and after discharging the duties for which the body met, a final adjournment was taken June 22.

SECOND SPECIAL SESSION.

On the 8th of October, 1871, a fire broke out in Chicago, which laid that city in ashes and rendered thousands of its citizens helpless and homeless, and the cry for help, immediate help, went forth broadcast throughout the land. Two days after, Governor Palmer issued his proclamation convening the Legislature in special session on the 13th of October. This was a great emergency, and the Governor met it boldly. He notified all the members through the medium of the telegraph, and within three days after the proclamation they were in their seats and ready for business.

The Constitution of 1870 had forbidden all special legislation, and there were grave doubts in the minds of many members as to the power of the Legislature to pass, constitutionally, effective laws for the relief of the city, but the Governor issued a stirring message, and clearly pointed out the way. In 1865, the Legislature had passed an act providing for the completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal upon the plan adopted by the State in 1836, and entrusted the work to the city of Chicago, under certain conditions, restricting, however, the expenditure to \$2,500,000, which was, ultimately, to be paid, principal and interest, by the State. In this work Chicago had expended the amount limited by the act of 1865, and at this session the General Assembly appropriated a sum sufficient

to pay the principal and interest, which amounted, in round numbers, to \$3,000,000, on the payment of which the canal was surrendered to the management of the State.

ADJOURNED SESSION.

The regular adjourned session of this assembly convened November 15, 1871, to resume the labor of enacting laws to conform with the new Constitution, and continued in session until April 9, 1872, when a *sine die* adjournment was taken.

This body was in regular session 250 days, and in special sessions 42 days, making a total of 292, and passed laws covering a volume of 781 pages, in which was included almost every subject of legislation contemplated in the new Constitution. The duties of this body were, perhaps, more burdensome and difficult than those of any legislature which has ever assembled in the State, but they were performed with fidelity and consummate ability.

CHAPTER XXIX.

STATE CAMPAIGN—1872.

Formation of the Liberal Republican Party—Great Defection in the Republican Party—Yates' Cabinet Deserts the Republican Party—Yates Stands by the "Silent Soldier"—Lippincott True to the Republican Party—Dissolution of the New Party—No Democratic Tickets—State Campaign—Aggregate Vote for State Officers, Members of Congress and Presidential Electors.

In 1870, Horace Greeley, through his paper, the *New York Tribune*, strenuously advocated a more lenient policy on the part of the National Administration toward the

States which had lately been in rebellion. The Republican party, then in power in Missouri, divided on the question of removing from the Constitution of that State the clause which disfranchised rebels. Carl Schurz and B. Gratz Brown led the faction favoring the abrogation of that clause, which assumed the name of Liberal Republicans. Mr. Greeley had really prepared the way for the formation of such a party, and now that Missouri had taken the initiatory step, it was not long before the new party gained followers in all the Northern States; and in 1872, a National convention assembled at Cincinnati, May 1, under its auspices, and nominated Horace Greeley for President, and B. Gratz Brown for Vice-President.

The defection in the Republican party in Illinois was very general, and it looked at the outset as though the new organization would carry both the State and National elections. The Liberal faction in Illinois was led by such eminent men as John M. Palmer, Governor; Newton Bateman, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Edward Rummel, Secretary of State; ex-Lieut.-Gov. Francis A. Hoffman; ex-Lieut.-Gov. Wm. Bross; ex-Lieut.-Gov. Gustavus Kœrner; ex-Secretary of State, O. M. Hatch; ex-Auditor of Public Accounts, Jesse K. Dubois; ex-Auditor of Public Accounts, O. H. Miner; ex-Attorney-General, Washington Bushnell; ex-State Treasurer, Wm. Butler; ex-Congressman from the State-at-Large, S. W. Moulton; ex-Congressman, John Wentworth; ex-U. S. Marshal, D. L. Phillips; ex-U. S. District Attorney, Lawrence Weldon; Judge David Davis, Leonard Swett, Senator Lyman Trumbull, and last, though not least, the *Chicago Tribune*. Edward Rummel was nominated by the Liberals for Secretary of State, and Wm. Bross as one of the electors from the State-at-Large, and D. L. Phillips, who was then one of the chief owners of the *State Journal*, as a district elector.

There were many other prominent Republicans, who had been honored with places of distinction by the party, who joined in this movement, but these names will suffice to show that the schism was great and alarming even to the most stout-hearted Republican. It will be observed that all the State officers who made up the cabinet when Richard Yates was Governor, joined the fortunes of this new party, while Yates himself stood firm as a rock by the old party and the "silent soldier" whose first commission in the war he issued; and Gen. C. E. Lippincott, Auditor of Public Accounts, was the only member of the then Republican State Government who boldly declared himself willing to stand or fall by adhering to the Republican party, and he wrote a stirring letter, under date of April 24, 1872, to Wm. Murry, of Virginia, Cass county, in reply to the question as to the course that should be pursued by his old war comrades in the crisis. We give place to a brief extract from this letter:

"I answer briefly, because my time is fully occupied, but plainly, that my old comrades may clearly understand me, that I am for the Republican party and its nominees for the Presidency at Philadelphia. I see no abuses in the Republican party which it is not fully able and willing to correct. The record of that party is the proudest part of modern history. Its end cannot have approached, when nothing is arrayed against it but a threatened assault from a coalition of men of every possible political creed and character, held together by the single tie of a universal wish to get into the offices of the government. I have no criticisms to make upon the course of others, and trust that I have made my own position clear to you and to those for whom you write." (See file *Daily State Register*, May, 1872.)

The Republican party met in Philadelphia, June 5th, and renominated Gen. Grant for President, without opposition, and Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

The Democratic party met in National Convention at Baltimore, on the 9th of July, and nominated Greeley and

Brown. Mr. Greeley having been an early Abolitionist and one of the chief founders of the Republican party, his nomination was not accepted as satisfactory by the entire Democratic party of the country, and a convention of what was termed the "Straight-out" Democrats met at Louisville, Kentucky, September 3, and nominated Charles O'Connor, of New York, for President, and John Q. Adams, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. These nominations were declined.

The contest in Illinois was waged with great vigor on all sides, and many believed that the State would be carried by the Liberal party, but when the returns of the election came in it was shown that Grant and Wilson had received 241,944; Greeley and Brown, 184,938; O'Connor and Adams, 3,058. Grant's majority over all was 53,948.

In the United States, Grant and Wilson received, of the popular vote, 3,597,070; Greeley and Brown, 2,834,079; O'Connor and Adams, 29,408; Black, Temperance, 5,608. The majority of Grant and Wilson over all was 727,975. Of the electoral vote, Grant and Wilson received 286. Horace Greeley having died in the meantime, the electoral vote of the Liberal party was cast as follows: For President, T. A. Hendricks, of Indiana, 42; B. Gratz Brown, 18; C. J. Jenkins, of Georgia, 2; D. Davis, of Illinois, 1; For Vice-President, Brown received 47; G. W. Julian, of Indiana, 5; A. H. Colquitt, of Georgia, 5; J. M. Palmer, of Illinois, 3; T. E. Bramlette, of Kentucky, 3; W. S. Groesbeck, of Ohio, 1; W. B. Macher, of Kentucky, 1; N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, 1.

Messrs. Palmer, Kœrner, Trumbull and Moulton have since affiliated with the Democratic party, while Mr. Davis has been an Independent, but all the other gentlemen returned to the Republican fold before another Presidential campaign.

STATE CAMPAIGN.

This campaign was of the most momentous character; by it was to be determined whether the Republican party, which had guided the State and the Nation in the perilous times of war, should be set aside, and a new party take its place. For the time being the Democratic party did not array itself as a party against the Republican party, but united with the Liberal Republican party. Under these circumstances the Republicans did not enter the campaign with the brightest hopes of success; but they nominated a strong ticket, and made a bold and aggressive fight. R. J. Oglesby, who had led the party to victory in 1864, was nominated without opposition, for Governor; John L. Beveridge, for Lieutenant-Governor; George H. Harlow, for Secretary of State; C. E. Lippincott, for Auditor; Edward Rutz, for Treasurer, and James K. Edsall for Attorney-General.

The Liberal Republicans nominated Gustavus Kœrner, Republican, for Governor; J. C. Black, Democrat, for Lieutenant-Governor; Edward Rummel, Republican, and the incumbent of the office, for Secretary of State; Daniel O'Harra, Democrat, for Auditor; C. H. Lanphier, Democrat, for Treasurer, and John V. Eustace for Attorney-General.

The Liberal Republican State ticket was regarded as being exceedingly strong; it was believed that the names of Kœrner and Rummel would insure for it the German vote, and that the equal division of the offices between Democrats and Republicans would surely give the new party a sufficient following to carry the State. The battle between the old and the new party was opened with a zeal and bitterness that had never before been witnessed, but it soon became evident that the nomination of Greeley had greatly displeased many of the life-long leaders of the Democratic party, who openly opposed the election of the Liberal ticket, and either voted for the Republican ticket or refrained from voting at all.

The aggregate vote for State officers, members of Congress and Presidential electors is as follows:

GOVERNOR.

Richard J. Oglesby, R.....	237,774
Gustavus Kœrner, L. R.....	197,084
B. G. Wright	2,185

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

John L. Beveridge	235,101
J. C. Black	199,767
D. S. Starr	2,459

SECRETARY OF STATE.

George H. Harlow, R.....	241,435
Edward Rummel, L. R.....	193,493
E. Sutton.....	2,372

AUDITOR.

C. E. Lippincott, R.....	241,498
D. O'Hara, L. R.....	192,708
C. H. Westerman	2,459

TREASURER.

Edward Rutz, R.....	242,686
C. H. Lanphier, L. R.....	191,806
Henry West.....	2,509

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

J. K. Edsall, R.....	240,731
John V. Eustace, L. R.....	191,897
George A. Meech.....	2,467

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

John B. Rice, D.....	12,870
Lucien B. Otis, R.....	7,235

SECOND DISTRICT.

Jasper D. Ward, R.....	12,182
C. H. Harrison, D.....	8,873

THIRD DISTRICT.

Charles B. Farwell, R.....	9,202
John V. LeMoyné, D.....	4,962

FOURTH DISTRICT.

Stephen A. Hurlbut, R.....	15,532
Seymour G. Bronson, D.....	5,134

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Horatio C. Burchard, R.....	14,036
James Dinsmore, D.....	7,538

SIXTH DISTRICT.

John B. Hawley, R.....	13,123
Calvin Truesdale, D.....	7,215

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Franklin Corwin, R.....	12,404
G. D. A. Parks, D.....	8,293

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Greenbury L. Foot, R.....	13,401
George O. Barnes, D.....	8,304

NINTH DISTRICT.

Granville Barriere, R.....	12,600
N. C. Worthington, D.....	10,799

TENTH DISTRICT.

William H. Ray, R.....	12,962
William H. Neece, D.....	11,897

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Robert M. Knapp, D.....	13,818
Asa C. Mathews, R.....	10,939

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

James C. Robinson, D.....	13,284
M. M. Chamberlin, R.....	12,311

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

John McNulta, R	18,490
Clifton H. Moore, D.....	10,850
L. L. Leads	344

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT.

Joseph G. Cannon, R.....	15,161
William Melson, D.....	11,405

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.

John R. Eden, D.....	14,653
George Hunt, R.....	12,298

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT.

James S. Martin, R.....	12,266
Silas L. Bryan, D.....	12,016

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT.

William R. Morrison, D.....	13,215
John B. Hay, R.....	11,316

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT.

Isaac Clements, R.....	12,999
George W. Wall, D.....	11,478

NINETEENTH DISTRICT.

Samuel S. Marshall, D.....	13,297
Green B. Raum, R.....	11,282

ELECTORS—GRANT.

Henry Greenbaum.....	}	241,237
David T. Linegar.....		
Chauncey T. Bowen.....		
Lester L. Bond.....		
Mahlon D. Ogden.....		
Richard L. Divine.....		
James Shaw.....		
Norman H. Ryan.....		
Irus Coy.....		
Joseph J. Cassell.....		
William Seldon Gale.....		
William D. Henderson.....		
Moses M. Bane.....		
George A. Sanders.....		
Hugh Fullerton.....		
Martin B. Thompson.....		
Jacob W. Wilkin.....		
John P. Van Dorstan.....		
John I. Kinaker.....		
John Dougherty.....		
William H. Robinson.....		

GREELEY.

William Gross.....	
John D. Caton.....	
Thomas Hoyne.....	
Charles C. P. Holden.....	
Arno Voss.....	
Isaac W. Swaim.....	
Robert C. Burchett.....	
Eric Johnson.....	
Caspar Butz.....	
Stephen R. Moore.....	
Martin Shallenberger.....	
George Edmunds, Jr.....	
William Steinwedell.....	
David L. Phillips.....	
Samuel C. Parks.....	
John Cunningham.....	
John N. Gwin.....	
George L. Zuik.....	
John Hinchcliffe.....	
Benjamin W. Sharp.....	
Franklin Pierce.....	
	.... 184,772

O'CONNOR.

Isaac R. Diller.....	
David Runion.....	
Wm. S. Searles.....	
Abram Braisted.....	
William Hanley.....	
Jacob Sharp.....	
James M. Duncan.....	
John Culbertson.....	
John W. Hill.....	
John Moran.....	
Hezekiah M. Wead.....	
Thomas Clawry.....	
Frank Vromer.....	
William H. Van Epps.....	
Samuel L. Kerr.....	
James W. Davidson.....	
Jacob Epler.....	
William T. French.....	
James B. Smith.....	
Henry G. Carter.....	
L. M. De Motte.....	
	.... 3,138

CHAPTER XXX.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1873.

Governor—John L. Beveridge.

President of Senate and Acting Lieut.-Gov.—Jno. Early.

Secretary of State—George H. Harlow.

Auditor of Public Accounts—C. E. Lippincott.

Treasurer—Edward Rutz.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—Newton Bateman.

Attorney-General—James K. Edsall.

TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—FIRST SESSION.

The first session of the Twenty-eighth General Assembly convened January 8, and adjourned May 6, until January 8, 1874. The Assembly was composed of the following members:

SENATE.

Jos. S. Reynolds, Chicago.	Almon S. Palmer, Onarga.
R. S. Thompson, Chicago.	Elmer Baldwin, Farm Ridge.
Miles Kehoe, Chicago.	Jas. G. Strong, Dwight.
Samuel K. Dow, Chicago.	L. D. Whiting, Tiskilwa.
J. McGrath, Chicago.	Edward A. Wilcox, Minonk.
Horace F. Waite, Chicago.	W. H. Shepard, Cambridge.
R. S. Williamson, Chicago.	P. H. Sanford, Knoxville.
Clark W. Upton, Waukegan.	Benj. R. Hampton, Macomb.
John Early, Rockford.	Benj. Warren, LaHarpe.
Henry Green, Elizabeth.	S. P. Cummings, Astoria.
Jos. M. Patterson, Sterling.	John S. Lee, Peoria.
Geo. P. Jacobs, Oregon.	A. B. Nicholson, Lincoln.
Miles B. Castle, Sandwich.	John Cusey, Downs.
Eugene Canfield, Aurora.	Michael Donahue, Clinton.
Wm. S. Brooks, Joliet.	J. C. Sheldon, Urbana.

John C. Short, Danville.	John H. Yager, Alton.
Charles B. Steele, Mattoon.	Geo. Gundlach, Carlyle.
Charles Voris, Windsor.	John Cunningham, Salem.
W. B. Hundley, Taylorville.	Geo. W. Henry, Louisville.
Alex. Starne, Springfield.	W. J. Crews, Lawrenceville.
A. A. Glenn, Mt. Sterling.	Thos. S. Casey, Mt. Vernon.
Geo. W. Burns, ¹ Quincy.	F. M. Youngblood, Benton.
Maurice Kelly, ² Liberty.	W. K. Murphy, Pinckneyv'le.
Wm. R. Archer, Pittsfield.	John Hinchcliffe, Belleville.
Wm. Brown, Jacksonville.	Jesse Ware, Jonesboro.
Beatty T. Burke, Carlinville.	C. M. Ferrell, Elizabethtown.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Jas. B. Bradwell, Chicago.	James S. Taggart, Ridott.
John A. Lomax, Chicago.	James Shaw, Mt. Carroll.
Wm. Wayman, Chicago.	J. E. McPherran, Sterling.
S. P. Hopkins, Chicago.	Dean S. Efner, Albany.
Frank T. Sherman, Chicago.	Isaac Rice, Mt. Morris.
Charles G. Wicker, Chicago.	Henry D. Dement, Dixon.
E. F. Cullerton, Chicago.	Frederick H. Marsh, Oregon.
Constantine Kann, Chicago.	Lyman B. Ray, Morris.
Thos. M. Halpin, Chicago.	G. M. Hollenback, Milbrook.
John F. Scanlon, Chicago.	Perry A. Armstrong, Morris.
Thos. E. Ferrier, Chicago.	Sylvester S. Mann, Elgin.
Wm. H. Condon, Chicago.	J. A. Carpenter, Carp'nt'rsv'le.
Wm. A. Herting, Chicago.	James Herrington, Geneva.
Ingwell Oleson, Chicago.	Amos Savage, Lockport.
Hugh McLaughlin, Chicago.	Jno. S. Jessup, Wilmington.
Otto Peltzer, Chicago.	Jabez Harvey, Joliet.
John M. Rountree, Chicago.	M. J. Sheridan, Momence.
Geo. E. Washburn, Chicago.	E. B. Collins, Momence.
Daniel Booth, Chicago.	Thos. S. Sawyer, Chebanse.
C. H. Dolton, Dolton Stat'n.	Lewis Soule, Ottawa.
H. C. Seunne, Des Plaines.	Joseph Hart, Earlville.
Richard Bishop, McHenry.	Geo. W. Armstrong, Seneca.
F. K. Granger, McHenry.	J. P. Middlecoff, Paxton.
Elisha Gridley, Half Day.	Lucien Bullard, Forrest.
Robert J. Cross, ³ Roscoe.	John Pollock, Paxton.
Jesse S. Hildrup, Belvidere.	J. R. Mulvane, Princeton.
Duncan J. Stewart, Durand.	Cyrus Bocock, Castleton.
Richard F. Crawford, ⁴ —	Mark R. Dewey, Ohio.
E. L. Cronkrite, Freeport.	Dwight J. Webber, Minonk.
Alfred M. Jones, Warren.	Nathaniel Moore, Wenona.

¹Resigned September 20, 1858.
²Vice George W. Burns.

³Died.
⁴Vice Robert J. Cross, died.

J. G. Freeman, Snachwine.	H. P. Shumway, Taylorville.
Wilder W. Warner, Orion.	E. J. C. Alexander, Hillsboro.
E. H. Johnson, Pt. Byron.	A. Orendorff, Springfield.
Chas. Dunham, Geneseo.	Milton Hay, Springfield.
A. J. Streator, New Windsor.	S. M. Cullom, Springfield.
Geo. P. Graham, Aledo.	H. H. Moose, Havana,
J. S. Chambers, Altoona.	Wm. W. Easley, Virginia.
Wm. A. Grant, Monmouth.	N. W. Branson, Petersburg.
J. E. Jackson, Colchester.	Chas. Ballow, Clayton.
E. K. Westfall, Bushnell.	Nehemiah Bushnell, ³ Quincy.
Wm. Scott, Dallas City.	Ira M. Moore, Quincy.
D. Rankin, Biggsville.	J. Tilson, ⁴ and ⁵ , Quincy.
Edward E. Lane, Warsaw.	Albert J. Griffith. ⁶
S. Y. Thornton, Canton.	M. D. Massey, Pleasant Vale
John. A. Grey, Lewiston.	Stephen G. Lewis, Hardin.
J. M. Darnell, Pleasantview.	Henry Dresser, Naples.
Julius S. Starr, Peoria.	J. B. Nulton, Carrollton.
Michael C. Quinn, Peoria.	J. W. Meacham, Waverly.
Ezra G. Webster, Elmore.	J. Gordon, Lynnville.
Laban M. Stroud, Atlanta.	Wm. McAdams, Jerseyville.
Peter J. Hawes, Atlanta.	J. Plowman, Virden.
H. W. Snow, Washington.	A. L. Virden, Virden.
A. E. Stewart, Heyworth.	H. Weinheimer, Highland.
T. P. Rogers, Bloomington.	Benj. R. Hite, Collinsville.
John Cassedy, Lexington.	T. T. Ramey, Collinsville.
Job A. Race, Decatur.	Fred. A. Lietze, Carlyle.
Tilman Lane, Clinton.	C. D. Hoiles, Greenville.
Wm. T. Moffett, Decatur.	A. G. Henry, Greenville.
John Penfield, Rantoul.	N. B. Morrison, Odin.
C. P. Davis, Monticello.	Chas. G. Smith, Vandalia.
F. E. Bryant, Bement.	Ziba. S. Swan, ⁵ Vandalia.
Willis O. Pinnell, Paris.	Alfred P. Crosly. ⁷
Henri B. Bishop, Paris.	I. N. Jaques, Mt. Carmel.
Jacob H. Oakwood, Catlin.	R. T. Forth, Keenville.
Wm. T. Sylvester, ¹ Arcola.	D. W. Barkley, Fairfield.
J. A. Freeland, Sullivan.	J. L. Flanders, Olive.
J. A. Connolly, Charleston.	Thos. J. Golden, Marshall.
Joseph H. Ewing, ² Arcola.	H. Alexander, Robinson.
W. H. McDonald, Majority Pt	L. Walker, McLeansboro.
W. H. Blakely, Effingham.	R. S. Anderson, M'Leansboro
Benson Wood, Effingham.	Patrick Dolan, Enfield.
J. M. Truitt, Hillsboro.	J. G. Newton, Marion.

¹Removed.²Vice Wm. T. Sylvester, removed.³Died.⁴Vice Nehemiah Bushnell, deceased.⁵Resigned.⁶Vice John Tillson, resigned.⁷Vice Ziba S. Swan, resigned.

J. R. Loomis, Shawneetown.	S. M. Kase, ² Belleville.
S. M. Mitchell, Corinth.	W. A. Lemma, Carbondale.
J. W. Piatt, Cutler.	Matthew J. Inscore, Anna.
Wm. Neville, Chester.	John H. Oberly, Cairo.
Austin James, Mitchie.	James L. Wymore, Vienna.
B. Wick, ¹ Belleville.	F. M. McGee, Reynoldsburg.
L. H. Hite, East St. Louis.	N. R. Casey, Mound City.
John Thomas, Belleville.	

D. A. Ray, of McLean, was elected Secretary of the Senate over W. H. Mantz, of Jefferson, by a vote of 33 to 17.

In the House, Shelby M. Cullom, of Sangamon, was elected Speaker, over Newton R. Casey, of Pulaski, by a vote of 86 to 66, and Daniel Shepard, of Cook, Clerk, over Johsua L. Marsh, of Cook, by a vote of 86 to 61.

Gov. Palmer, the outgoing Executive, presented his message to the two houses on the 9th, in which he invited attention to the evidences of prosperity in the State, and referred with pride and pleasure to the disposition of the people to bear, without complaint, the burdens of taxation for the education of the masses, and for caring for the afflicted and helpless. To the question of State control of railroads, he gave careful consideration, and pointed out an intelligent and just remedy for the evils of which the people complained; the needs of the State institutions and all subjects affecting the immediate welfare of the people were discussed with manly candor, and many wise and judicious recommendations indulged in. During the four years of his administration the principal of the State debt had been reduced \$4,449,244.44, and the people in general were in a happy and prosperous condition.

The administration of Gov. Palmer was wise and able, yet laborious and trying. The office had come to him unsought. The Republican party nominated him for Governor in the face of the repeated declarations that he did not seek or desire the honor, and he was triumphantly elected, and went into power with the hearty approval of

¹Resigned.

²Vice Bernard Wick, Resigned.

his party, but his first annual message gave the leaders of that party great offense. He had been from his youth an outspoken anti-slavery man, yet he was a firm believer in State rights, and his message was strongly impregnated with that doctrine. This gave great displeasure to the leaders of the Republican party. When Chicago was burnt, a conflict arose between the State and National Administrations as to their respective duties in that great emergency, Gov. Palmer contending that the State was able to preserve order, and protect the property of its citizens, and that the National authority, if exercised at all, was to be subordinate to State authority. These emphatic declarations brought the Governor in open conflict with his party leaders, and before the close of his Administration he found himself allied to a new party, the Liberal Republican; and in justification of his acts, as Governor, in closing his last message, he said:

"I am not willing to close this communication and my official connection with the government, without expressing something of my gratitude to the people for the honor conferred upon me with the chief magistracy of the State. No one is more conscious than I am, that in the necessarily active share I have taken in the varied affairs of this great commonwealth I have, in the judgment of some, committed mistakes; but I have, in all my official acts, been governed by my own convictions of duty, only anxious that the free people of the State, to whose candid judgment alone I am responsible, should fully understand my conduct and its reasons and motives, and then decide to approve, or relieve themselves from the consequences of what they may regard as my mistakes by selecting a citizen for my successor who will avoid any error they may think I have committed.

"During my administration of the government of the State, I have steadily acted upon political principles that I have always cherished as being essential to the well being of my countrymen. I have never faltered in the assertion of the rights of all men to liberty. Habitually distrustful of power, I have insisted upon subjecting all claims of a right to govern the people or to exercise any

authority over them to the test of the Constitution, and I have never willingly submitted to any pretension of any person claiming power to act under the authority of the government of the United States, unless the power claimed was found to have been expressly granted, or was necessarily implied in some grant of power contained in the Federal Constitution. And when the authority sought to be exercised has been claimed under a State, I have as earnestly sought to know that it was not comprehended within some power the people of the State have, by their Constitution, reserved to themselves or forbidden to be exercised by others. I have, at all times, regarded it as amongst my solemn duties to obey the Constitution of the United States, and to aid in defending the government created by that instrument, in the exercise of all its just powers, nor have I felt that my duty to support the Constitution of the United States originated in my official oath to do so.

"My duties to the government of the United States began with my birth, and have never been forgotten nor neglected, and my unalterable purpose to discharge those duties has the support of my judgment and my affections, and I have felt under the most solemn of earthly obligations to obey and defend and support the Constitution and laws of the State of Illinois, and to enforce the laws of the State against all who might offend against them. I need not say that the duty of obeying and defending the laws of the State has the support of my most earnest convictions—for the preservation of the just authority of the States is essential to the perpetuity and usefulness of the government of the United States, and the maintenance of both is essential to that which is more precious than either—the liberties of the people."

The best compliment that can be paid to the administration of Governor Palmer is to say that he alone was responsible for it. While he was not a discreet party man, yet he was a good Governor; he magnified and enlarged the powers and duties of the Executive office, and thereby elevated and dignified its character. Under the Constitution of 1848, the laws had become strained or lax. The necessities of the State in war times had caused the law-makers to overlook, in many instances, the written letter of that instrument, and when

it became necessary to revise the laws under the Constitution of 1870, implicit care was not taken to keep within its limits, and Governor Palmer was kept busy in the discussion of constitutional questions. In a single session he vetoed as many as one hundred and twelve acts on constitutional grounds. It became a by-word with members, when a constitutional question was raised against the passage of a bill, to say: "We will not discuss the question here; if there is anything unconstitutional in the bill Governor Palmer will find it out."

Governor Oglesby was inaugurated on the 13th of January, and delivered a brief address, in which he took occasion to discuss, with feeling and freedom, National questions, and pointed with satisfaction to the proud position Illinois occupied in the National Union.

On the 20th of January, Governor Oglesby was elected United States Senator, over Lyman Trumbull, by a vote of 84 to 62, and on the 23d resigned the office of Governor, when Lieutenant-Governor Beveridge became Governor, and Senator Early, who had been elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate, acting Lieutenant-Governor.

The General Assembly remained in session until May 6, when a recess was taken until January 8, 1874.

The more important acts which were passed by this Assembly and received the approval of the Governor, were as follows: Acts to reorganize agricultural societies; to authorize the Board of Canal Commissioners to construct a dam and lock at or near Copperas Creek; to make appropriation to continue the work on the new State House; to amend an act to provide for the incorporation of cities and villages; to amend the election laws; to amend an act entitled "an act to provide for the incorporation of associations for conducting and maintaining railways;" to amend an act entitled "an

act to regulate public warehouses and the warehousing and inspection of grain," and for the appropriation of moneys necessary to carry on the State Government and its institutions.

CHAPTER XXXI,

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1874.

The Liberal Republican party ceased as a State or National organization at the close of the campaign of 1872, and on its ruins was formed in this State the Anti-Monopoly party, which met in convention at Springfield, June 10, 1874, and nominated David Gore for Treasurer, and S. M. Etter for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Republican party met in convention at Springfield, June 17, and nominated Thomas S. Ridgway for Treasurer, and Wm. B. Powell for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Democrats, in the meantime, had reorganized, and they met August 26, and nominated Charles Carroll for Treasurer, and S. M. Etter for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

There was little or no general canvass of the State, and the people were left to vote without much direction from party leaders. The nomination of Mr. Etter by the Democrats had given him a clear field against Mr. Powell, the Republican nominee, and the result was that while Mr. Ridgway was elected by a plurality of 34,805 over Mr. Carroll, Mr. Powell was defeated by a plurality of 30,506.

The aggregate vote for State officers and members of Congress, is as follows:

TREASURER.

Thomas S. Ridgway, R.....	162,974
Charles Carroll, D.....	128,169
David Gore, A. M.....	75,580
J. F. Simpson.....	582

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Samuel M. Etter, D. and A. M.....	197,490
Wm. B. Powell, R.....	166,984
Mrs. A. F. Potter	619

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT..

Bernard G. Caulfield, D.....	10,211
Sidney Smith, R.....	9,803

SECOND DISTRICT.

Carter H. Harrison, D.....	9,189
Jasper D. Ward, R.....	9,181

THIRD DISTRICT.

Charles B. Farwell, R.....	8,177
John V. Le Moyne, D.....	7,991
F. A. Hoffman, Jr.....	139

FOURTH DISTRICT.

Stephen A. Hurlbut, R.....	9,326
John F. Farnsworth, Ind. R.....	8,167

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Horatio C. Burchard, R.....	9,232
Daniel J. Pinkney, D.....	7,008

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Thomas J. Henderson, R.....	9,390
Isaac H. Elliott.....	6,299

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Alexander Campbell, G. B.....	10,308
Franklin Corwin, R.....	7,905

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Greenbury L. Fort, R.....	8,753
J. G. Bayne, D....	7,463

NINTH DISTRICT.

Richard H. Whiting, R.....	9,755
Leonard F. Ross, D.....	9,495

TENTH DISTRICT.

John C. Bagby, D.....	9,784
Henderson Richey, R.....	8,824

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Scott Wike, D.....	11,489
David Beatty, R.....	7,429

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

Wm. M. Springer, D.....	10,623
Andrew Simpson, R.....	9,027
J. B. Turner.....	2,417

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

Adlai E. Stephenson, G. B.....	11,135
John McNulta, R.....	9,903
Geo. W. Minier.....	130

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT.

Joseph G. Cannon, R.....	11,244
James H. Pickrell, D.....	10,603

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.

John R. Eden, D.....	12,084
Jacob W. Wilkin	10,789

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT.

W. A. J. Sparks, D.....	8,723
James S. Martin, R.....	7,932
Rolla B. Henry, G. B....	4,023

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT.

Wm. R. Morrison, D.....	13,086
John I. Rinaker, R.....	8,438

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT.

William Hartzell, D.....	10,866
Isaac Clements, R.....	9,280

NINETEENTH DISTRICT.

William B. Anderson, G. B.....	8,293
Samuel S. Marshall, D.....	7,556
Green B. Raum, R.....	5,485

CHAPTER XXXII.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1875.

Governor—John L. Beveridge.
President of Senate and acting Lieut.-Gov.—A. A. Glenn.
Secretary of State—George H. Harlow.
Auditor of Public Accounts—C. E. Lippincott.
Treasurer—Thomas S. Ridgway.
Superintendent of Public Instruction—S. M. Etter.
Attorney-General—James K. Edsall.

TWENTY-NINTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Twenty-ninth General Assembly convened January 6, and was composed of the following members:

SENATE.

John C. Haines, Chicago.	Fawcett Plumb, Streator.
R. S. Thompson, Chicago.	James G. Strong, Dwight.
Miles Kehoe, Chicago.	L. D. Whiting, Tiskilwa.
Sam'l K. Dow, Chicago.	E. A. Wilcox, Minonk.
John Buehler, Chicago.	E. C. Moderwell, Geneseo.
H. F. Waite, Chicago.	P. H. Sanford, Knoxville.
M. F. Robinson, Chicago.	J. T. Morgan, Monmouth.
C. W. Upton, Waukegan.	Benj. Warren, LaHarpe.
John Early, Rockford.	R. Brown, Rushville.
Henry Green, Elizabeth.	John S. Lee, Peoria.
H. A. Mills, Mt. Carroll.	Jas. W. Robinson, Tremont.
Geo. P. Jacobs, Oregon.	John Cusey, Heyworth.
M. B. Castle, Sandwich.	J. F. Harrold, Clinton.
E. B. Canfield, Aurora.	J. C. Sheldon, Urbana.
A. O. Marshall, Joliet.	Geo. Hunt, Paris.
A. S. Palmer, Onarga.	C. B. Steele, Mattoon.

T. Brewer, Majority Point.	J. Thompson, Vandalia.
W. H. Hundley, Taylorville.	G. W. Henry, Louisville.
W. E. Shutt, Springfield.	O. V. Smith, Lawrenceville.
A. A. Glenn, Mt. Sterling.	T. S. Casey, Mt. Vernon.
B. Arntzen, Quincy.	W. H. Parish, Eldorado.
W. R. Archer, Pittsfield.	W. K. Murphy, Pinckneyville.
C. D. Hodges, Carrollton.	J. Rainey, Belleville.
B. T. Burke, Carlinville.	Jesse Ware, Jonesboro.
W. H. Krome, Edwardsville.	Sam'l Glassford, Vienna.
Geo. Gundlach, Carlyle.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

J. B. Bradwell, Chicago.	Henry D. Dement, Dixon.
Lincoln Dubois, Chicago.	Isaac Rice, Mt. Morris.
M. J. Wentworth, Chicago.	F. H. Marsh, Oregon.
John Hise, Chicago.	Philip Collins, Morris.
Geo. M. Bogue, Chicago.	Joshua McGrath, Lisbon.
S. P. Hopkins, Chicago.	D. B. Bailey, Gardner.
Wm. Honan, Chicago.	V. Fredenhagen, Downer's G.
C. L. Niehoff, Chicago.	James F. Claffin, Lombard.
T. L. Halpin, Chicago.	James Herrington, Geneva.
Orrin L. Mann, Chicago.	Wm. Mooney, Braidwood.
Wm. H. Condon, Chicago.	H. H. Stasson, jr., Monee.
M. M. Miller, Chicago.	L. H. Goodrich, Braidwood,
M. J. Dunne, Chicago.	Geo. W. Parker, Watseka,
J. S. Arwedson, Chicago.	George C. Wilson, Onarga.
C. L. Linderberg, Chicago,	R. Richardson, Yellowhead.
Robert Thiem, Chicago.	C. L. Hoffman, Farm Ridge.
John C. Barker, Chicago.	G. W. Armstrong, Seneca.
W. H. Stickney, Chicago.	E. H. Spicer, Marseilles.
W. H. Skelly, jr., Lemont.	Albert M. Haling, Roberts.
G. Dunlap, Norwood Park.	Joseph I. Robinson, Elliott.
Wm. Freise, Desplaines.	David McIntosh, Newton.
W. A. James, Highland Park.	A. G. Mammond, Toulon.
E. M. Haines, Waukegan.	J. H. Moore, Tiskilwa.
F. K. Granger, McHenry.	J. J. Herron, Princeton.
Andrew Ashton, Durand.	Henry France, Roanoke.
R. F. Crawford, Rockford.	J. T. Thornton, Magnolia.
M. K. Avery, Belvidere.	Nathaniel Moore, Wenona.
Forest Turner, Nora.	Rufus M. Grinnell, Cordova.
E. L. Cronkrite, Freeport.	John T. Browning, Moline.
A. M. Jones, JoDaviess.	John P. Fox, Windsor.
A. R. McCoy, Fulton City.	John H. Lewis, Knoxville.
N. D. French, Thompson.	John T. McGinnis, Joy.
Tyler McWhorter, Sterling.	C. K. Harvey, Knoxville.

I. L. Christie, Monmouth.	R. H. Downing, Keokuk J.
C. W. Boydston, Cameron.	James Callans, Winchester.
A. W. King, Macomb.	John Moses, Winchester.
David Rankin, Biggsville.	J. S. Harvey, Bellevue.
W. Jenney, Burnside.	A. J. Thompson, Bethel.
Paul D. Salter, Biggsville.	Samuel Woods, Pisgah.
James DeWitt, Littleton.	John Gordon, Lynnville.
S. P. Cummings, Astoria.	S. P. Gilbert, Carlinville.
S. Y. Thornton, Canton.	O. P. Powell, Jerseyville.
Wm. Rowcliff, Robin's Nest.	H. F. Martin, Brighton.
Julius S. Starr, Peoria.	F. S. Pike, St. Jacob.
Patrick W. Dunn, Peoria.	Geo. A. Smith, Alton.
Richard Holmes, Delevan.	Geo. H. Weigler, Alton.
R. A. Talbott, Burton View.	J. K. McMasters, Nashville.
Thomas Windle, Lincoln.	A. G. Henry, Greenville.
T. P. Rogers, Bloomington.	Wm. H. Moore, Nashville.
J. F. Winter, Bloomington.	Wm. R. Hubbard, Kinmundy.
A. E. Stewart, Bloomington.	Thos. E. Merritt, Sa' em.
Shaw Pease, Niantic.	John B. Johnson, Alma.
John H. Tyler, Dewitt.	Samuel R. Hall, Albion.
Samuel S. Jack, Decatur.	Byron J. Rotan, Louisville.
Wm. H. Phillips, Rantoul.	John Landigan, Albion.
Geo. H. Benson, Rantonl.	E. Callahan, Robinson.
W. C. Hubbart, Monticello.	John H. Halley, Newton.
Wm. S. O'Hair, Paris.	J. W. Briscoe, Darwin.
John Sidell, Fairmount.	H. W. Hall, Knight's Pr.
Andrew Gundy, Bismark.	A. B. Barrett, Mt. Vernon.
J. A. Connolly, Charleston.	Boon Kershaw, Grayville.
E. M. Vance, Mattoon.	J. N. Wasson, Shawneetown.
R. A. Wilson, Williamsburg.	A. C. Neilson, Marion.
Wm. Gillmore, Edgewood.	Isaac Smith, Ridgway.
W. Middlesworth, Shelbyville.	J. W. Rickert, Waterloo.
William Chew, Shelbyville.	Samuel McKee, Blair.
Levi Scott, Pana.	J. Chesnutwood, Evansville.
John C. Hagler, Pana.	Wm. G. Kase, E. St. Louis.
W. F. Mulkey, Nokomis.	John Thomas, Belleville.
Jos. L. Wilcox, Loami.	James Rankin, Lebanon.
Fred Gehring, Springfield.	F. E. Albright, Murphysboro.
S. M. Cullom, Springfield.	M. J. Inscore, Anna.
N. W. Branson, Petersburg.	Claiborn Winston, Cairo.
A. G. Nance, Petersburg.	Benj. O. Jones, Metropolis.
John W. Pugh, Mason City.	James R. Stegall, Oak.
T. J. Bates, Camp Point.	L. F. Plater, Elizabethtown.
Ira M. Moore, Quincy.	

In this General Assembly the Republicans lost their majority, and by a fusion with the Independents the

Democrats succeeded in obtaining control of both houses. On the sixteenth ballot A. A. Glenn was elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate, over John Early, by a vote of 26 to 23, when he became acting Lieutenant-Governor, and R. T. Townes, Secretary, over D. A. Ray, by a vote of 26 to 24.

In the House, E. M. Haines was elected Speaker, over Shelby M. Cullom, by a vote of 81 to 68, and Jeremiah J. Crowley, Clerk, over Daniel Shepard, by a similar vote.

Governor Beveridge presented his message to the two houses on the 8th of January. It was a brief, business State paper, and confined exclusively to matters of State; he congratulated the Legislature on the happy and prosperous condition of the people, and commended to their careful and considerate attention the passage of such laws as would subserve the best interests of the State and foster and preserve the State institutions intact.

This was a stormy session, and the leaders on either side sought every opportunity to take advantage of each other, and by reason of this it was an unprofitable session, in many ways.

The laws enacted were comprised in a volume of 118 pages, the most important of which were: the appropriation acts; to provide for the re-organization of cities; to enable corporations in other States and counties to lend money in Illinois; to change the fiscal year; to give railroad companies the right to purchase or lease roads in adjoining States; to authorize the formation of union depots and stations for railroads; to authorize the refunding of funds collected for 1873, under an act passed in 1869, providing for the payment of railroad debts of counties, townships, cities and towns, and to regulate the charitable institutions and State Reform School, and to improve their organization and increase their efficiency.

CHAPTER XXXIII,

A VISION OF WAR.

Extract from a Speech Delivered by Robert G. Ingersoll, at the "Soldiers' Reunion," at Indianapolis, Ind., September 21, 1876.

"The past rises before me like a dream. Again we are in the great struggle for National life. We hear the sounds of preparation—the music of boisterous drums—the silver notes of heroic bugles. We see thousands of assemblages, and hear the appeals of orators; we see the pale cheeks of women, and the flushed faces of men; and in those assemblages we see all the dead whose dust we have covered with flowers. We lose sight of them no more. We are with them when they enlist in the great army of freedom. We see them part with those they love. Some are walking for the last time in quiet woody places, with the maidens they adore. We hear the whisperings and the sweet vows of eternal love as they lingeringly part forever. Others are bending over cradles, kissing babes that are asleep. Some are receiving the blessings of old men. Some are parting with mothers, who hold them, and press them to their hearts again and again, and say nothing. Kisses and tears, tears and kisses—divine mingling of agony and love. And some are talking with wives, and endeavoring with brave words, spoken in the old tones, to drive from their hearts the awful fear. We see them part. We see the wife standing in the door with the babe in her arms—standing in the sunlight sobbing—at the turn of the road a hand waves—she answers by holding high in her loving arms the child. He is gone, and forever.

"We see them all as they march proudly away under the flaunting flags, keeping time to the grand, wild music

of war,—marching down the streets of the great cities—through the towns and across the prairies—down to the fields of glory, to do and to die for the eternal right.

"We go with them, one and all. We are by their side on all the gory fields—in all the hospitals of pain—on all the weary marches. We stand guard with them in the wild storm and under the quiet stars. We are with them in ravines running with blood—in the furrows of old fields. We are with them between contending hosts, unable to move, wild with thirst, the life ebbing slowly away among the withered leaves. We see them pierced by balls and torn with shells, in the trenches, by forts, and in the whirlwind of the charge, where men become iron, with nerves of steel.

"We are with them in the prisons of hatred and famine; but human speech can never tell what they endured.

"We are at home when the news comes that they are dead. We see the maiden in the shadow of her first sorrow. We see the silvered head of the old man bowed with his last grief.

"The past rises before us, and we see four millions of human beings governed by the lash—we see them bound hand and foot—we hear the strokes of cruel whips—we see the hounds tracking women through tangled swamps. We see babes sold from the breasts of mothers. Cruelty unspeakable! Outrage infinite!

"Four million bodies in chains—four million souls in fetters. All the sacred relations of wife, mother, father and child trampled beneath the brutal feet of might. And all this was done under our beautiful banner of the free.

"The past rises before us. We hear the roar and shriek of the bursting shell. The broken fetters fall. These heroes died. We look. Instead of slaves, we see men and women and children. The wand of progress touches the auction-block, the slave-pen, the whipping-post, and we see homes, and fire-sides, and school-houses, and books, and where all was want and crime and cruelty and fear, we see the faces of the free.

"These heroes are dead. They died for liberty—they died for us. They are at rest. They sleep in the land they made free, under the flag they rendered stainless, under the solemn pines, the sad hemlocks, the tearful willows, and the embracing vines. They sleep beneath the shadows of the clouds, careless alike of sunshine or of storm, each in the windowless palace of Rest. Earth may

run red with other wars—they are at peace. In the midst of battle, in the roar of conflict, they found the serinity of death. I have one sentiment for soldiers, living and dead: Cheers for the living; tears for the dead."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1876.

In 1876, the contest was again triangular in part. The Republicans met in State convention May 24, to nominate a State ticket and appoint delegates to the National Convention. Shelby M. Cullom was nominated for Governor, Andrew Shuman for Lieutenant-Governor, George H. Harlow for Secretary of State, Thomas B. Needles for Auditor, Edward Rutz for Treasurer, and James K. Edsall, who was the incumbent, for Attorney-General. The Greenback party was the next to nominate a State ticket. Lewis Steward was nominated for Governor, James H. Pickrell for Lieutenant-Governor, Marsena M. Hooton for Secretary of State, John Hise for Auditor, Henry T. Aspern for Treasurer, and Winfield S. Coy for Attorney-General. The Democrats met July 27, and nominated Lewis Steward for Governor, Archibald A. Glenn for Lieutenant-Governor, Stephen Y. Thornton for Secretary of State, John Hise for Auditor, George Gundlach for Treasurer, and Edmund Lynch for Attorney-General.

The National Greenback Convention met May 17, at Indianapolis, and nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for President, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, for Vice-President.

The Republicans met in National Convention at Cincinnati, June 14, and nominated R. B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President, and Wm. A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-President.

The Democratic National Convention met in St. Louis, June 17, and nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for Vice-President.

The nomination of Steward and Hise by the Democrats, for Governor and Auditor, virtually left the Greenback party out of the fight, and the Democrats entered upon the canvass with the hope of carrying at least two members of the State ticket. The nomination of Hayes did not give perfect satisfaction to the Republicans, and the canvass was rather spiritless until near the close of the campaign, when many eminent speakers from other States were brought into service, notably among whom was James G. Blaine. On the contrary, the nomination of Tilden and Hendricks pleased the Democrats to the utmost, and they labored in and out of season for the success of both the State and National tickets; indeed, the party had not been so well organized since 1860; but the Republicans carried the State for all their nominees, by a greatly reduced majority.

The aggregate vote for State officers, Congressmen and Presidential electors is as follows:

GOVERNOR.

Shelby M. Cullom, R.....	279,263
Lewis Steward, D.-G.....	272,465
Scattering.....	365

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

Andrew Shuman, R.....	278,167
Archibald A. Glenn, D.....	255,970
James H. Pickrell, G.....	18,053
Scattering.....	362

SECRETARY OF STATE.

George H. Harlow, R.....	278,457
Stephen Y. Thornton, D.....	255,990
Marsena M. Hooton, G.....	17,848
Scattering.....	482

AUDITOR.

Thos. B. Needles, R.....	278,628
John Hise, D.-G.....	273,052
Scattering.....	378

TREASURER.

Edward Rutz, R.....	277,788
George Gundlach, D.....	255,044
Henry T. Aspern, G.....	19,439
Scattering.....	388

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

James K. Edsall, R.....	278,472
Edmund Lynch, D.....	257,057
Winfield S. Coy, G.....	17,433
Scattering.....	367

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

William Aldrich, R.....	16,578
John R. Hoxie, D.....	14,101
George S. Bowen.....	486

SECOND DISTRICT.

Carter H. Harrison, D.....	14,732
George R. Davis, R.....	14,090
S. F. Norton.....	118

THIRD DISTRICT.

Lorenz Brentano, R.....	11,722
John V. Le Moyne.....	11,435

FOURTH DISTRICT.

William Lathrop, R.....	13,241
John F. Farnsworth....	8,149
Stephen A. Hurlbut.....	5,991

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Horatio C. Burchard, R	15,793
Jere Pattison, D	10,600

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Thomas J. Henderson, R.....	15,560
Charles Dunham, D.....	9,821
Austin Sykes	283

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Philip C. Hayes, R	14,849
Alexander Campbell, G. B.....	18,813

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Greenbury L. Fort, R.....	15,011
George W. Parker, D	12,211

NINTH DISTRICT.

Thomas A. Boyd, R.....	14,548.
George A. Wilson, D.....	14,001
Wm. W. Mathews, G. B	678

TENTH DISTRICT.

Benjamin F. Marsh, R.....	14,252
J. H. Hungate, D.....	13,496
J. L. Christie.....	147

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

Robert M. Knapp, D.....	17,949
Joseph Robbins, R	12,618
J. A. Edie.....	35

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

William M. Springer, D	17,400
David L. Phillips	13,744

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

Thomas F. Tipton, R	15,229
Adlai E. Stevenson, G. B.....	14,977

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT.

Joseph G. Cannon, R	17,796
John C. Black, D.....	16,404

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.

John R. Eden, D	18,714
George D. Chafee, R	13,765
A. J. Hunter	72

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT.

William A. J. Sparks, D.....	14,591
Edwin M. Ashcraft, R.....	12,763

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT.

William R. Morrison, D.....	17,036
Henry L. Baker, R	13,029

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT.

William Hartzell, D.....	14,691
Benjamin L. Wiley, R	14,671

NINETEENTH DISTRICT.

Richard W. Townshend, D.....	12,720
Edward Bonham, R.....	8,558
William B. Anderson, G. B	7,463

ELECTORS—HAYES, R.

John I. Rinaker.....	277,227
Peter Schuttler.....	278,228
George Armour.....	278,232
Bolivar G. Gill.....	276,740
Louis Schaffner.....	278,231
Allen C. Fuller.....	278,232
Joseph M. Bailey.....	277,231
John B. Hawley.....	277,232
Franklin Corwin.....	277,215
Jason W. Strevell.....	277,226
Oscar F. Price.....	277,232
Alexander McLean.....	277,231
David E. Beatty.....	277,230
Philip N. Minear.....	277,231
Michael Donahue.....	277,230
Hugh Crea.....	277,215
George D. Chafee.....	277,233
James M. Truitt.....	277,233
Cyrus Happy.....	277,233
George C. Ross.....	277,235
Joseph J. Castles.....	277,029

TILDEN, D.

William F. Coolbaugh.....	258.445
William J. Allen.....	258,445
Thomas Hoyne.....	258.598
Samuel S. Hayes.....	258,599
Arno Voss.....	258 599
Thomas B. Coulter.....	258,601
William C. Green.....	258,601
James S. Eckels.....	258,465
George B. Martin.....	258.411
Henry W. Bullock.....	258 275
Lawrence W. James.....	258,508
James W. Davidson.....	258,462
William G. Ewing.....	249,347
Charles A. Keyes.....	258.466
Cæsar A. Roberts.....	258.471
Orlando B. Ficklin.....	258,466
Robert N. Bishop.....	258.468
Jesse J. Phillips	258.468
Charles A. Walker.....	258.467
J. Perry Johnson.....	258.467
John M. Crebs.....	258,283
Wigfall G. Ewing.....	9,119
W. T. Davidson.....	21
William Gordon.....	9

COOPER, G. B.

Sydney Myers.....	18,241
James W. Singleton.....	17,107
A. J. Grover.....	17,121
Andrew C. Cameron.....	17,174
H. B. Barrett.....	17,191
S. M. Slade.....	17,232
J. M. King.....	17,231
S. M. Smith.....	17,229
John M. Thompson.....	17,225
James G. Bayne.....	17,231
H. Christman.....	16,745
A. J. Streetor.....	17,233
H. K. Davis.....	17,223
John McConnell.....	17,224
Thomas Snell.....	17,226
Jesse Harper.....	17,228
Charles Voris.....	17,223
Rolla B. Henry.....	17,223

John Hinchcliffe.....	17,226
S. I. Davis.....	17,221
John Landigan.....	16,857

The Prohibition and Anti-Secret Society parties also run electoral tickets; the highest vote polled by the Prohibitionists was 249, and 181 by the Anti-Secret Society.

CHAPTER XXXV.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1877.

Governor—Shelby M. Cullom.

Lieutenant-Governor—Andrew Shuman.

Secretary of State—George H. Harlow.

Auditor of Public Accounts—T. B. Needles.

Treasurer—Edward Rutz.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—S. M. Etter.

Attorney-General—James K. Edsall.

THIRTIETH GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Thirtieth General Assembly convened January 3, and was composed of the following members:

SENATE.

John C. Haines, Chicago.	H. A. Mills, Mt. Carroll.
Daniel N. Bash, Chicago.	H. D. Dement, Dixon.
Miles Kehoe, Chicago.	M. B. Castle, Sandwich.
Francis H. Riddle, Chicago.	J. H. Mayborne, Geneva.
John Buehler, Chicago.	A. O. Marshall, Joliet.
M. A. DeLany, Chicago.	T. P. Bonfield, Kankakee.
M. W. Robinson, Chicago.	Faucett Plumb, Streator.
M. L. Joslyn, Woodstock.	S. T. Fosdick, Chatsworth.
John Early, ¹ Rockford.	L. D. Whiting, Tiskilwa.
R. H. McClellan, Galena.	Henry J. Frantz, Roanoke.

¹Died September, 1877.

E. C. Moderwell, Geneseo.	Bernard Arntzen, Quincy.
B. C. Taliaferro, Keithsburg.	Wm. R. Archer, Pittsfield.
John T. Morgan, Monmouth.	C. D. Hodges, Carrollton,
William Scott, Dallas City.	G. W. Herdman, Jerseyville.
Robert Brown, Rushville.	W. H. Krome, Edwardsville.
John S. Lee, Peoria.	F. E. W. Brink, Hoylton.
J. W. Robison, Tremont.	John Thompson, Vandalia.
J. M. Hamilton, Bloomington.	R. P. Hanna, Fairfield.
J. F. Harold, DeWitt.	O. V. Smith, Lawrenceville.
C. P. Davis, Monticello.	C. E. McDowell, Carmi.
George Hunt, Paris.	Wm. H. Parish, Eldorado.
Malden Jones, Tuscola.	Ambrose Hœner, Waterloo.
Thos. Brewer, Majority Poi't.	Jefferson Rainey, Belleville.
E. Southworth, Litchfield.	Jesse Ware, Jonesboro.
Wm. E. Shutt, Springfield.	S. M. Glassford, Vienna.
Luther Dearborn, Havana.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

W. H. Thompson, Chicago.	James S. Taggart, Ridott.
Charles L. Easton, Chicago.	Hiram Tyrrell, Plum River.
M. J. Wentworth, Chicago.	E. L. Cronkrite, Freeport.
S. P. Hopkins, Chicago.	James Shaw, Mt. Carroll.
J. W. E. Thomas, Chicago.	E. H. Nevitt, Albany.
Joseph E. Smith, Chicago.	J. M. Stowell, Mt. Carroll.
James B. Taylor, Chicago.	Abijah Powers, Sterling.
H. F. Sheridan, Chicago.	Frank N. Tice, Forreston.
P. J. Hickey, Chicago.	B. H. Truesdell, Lee.
E. B. Sherman, Chicago.	Peter S. Lott, Newark.
George W. Reed, Chicago.	Wm. M. Byers, Sycamore.
Jos. J. Kearney, Chicago.	Amos D. Clover, Gardner.
John A. Roche, Chicago.	Henry H. Evans, Aurora.
Peter Kiobassa, Chicago.	Jas. G. Wright, Naperville.
Michael J. Dunne, Chicago.	James Herrington, Geneva.
Eugene A. Sittig, Chicago.	Fred Kouka, Eagle Lake.
Arno Voss, Chicago.	L. H. Goodrich, Braidwood.
Austin O. Sexton, Chicago.	D. H. Pinney, Joliet.
J. S. Bielefeldt, Thornton.	Conrad Secrest, Watseka.
John H. Kedzie, Evanston.	John A. Koplin, Buckley.
G. C. Klehm, Niles Center.	D. C. Taylor, Kankakee.
F. K. Granger, McHenry.	L. C. Crooker, Mendota.
W. A. James, Highland Park.	S. M. Heslet, Meriden.
E. M. Dennis, Waukegan.	G. W. Armstrong, Seneca.
G. H. Hollister, Rockton.	George B. Gray, Pontiac.
John Budlong, Rockford.	John H. Collier, Gibson.
Andrew Ashton, Durand.	E. C. Allen, Long Point.

Charles Baldwin, Princeton.	David H. Zepp, Nokomis.
Daniel J. Hurd, Lafayette.	W. E. Morrison, Morrisonvl'e.
Jas. J. Herron, Princeton.	Burrel Phillips, Hillsboro.
Joel A. Ranney, Metamora.	John Foutch, New Berlin.
C. Fosbender, Sparland.	J. Mayo Palmer, Springfield.
Eli V. Raley, Granville.	DeWitt W. Smith, Bates.
J. T. Browning, Moline.	Jacob Wheeler, Havana.
John P. Fox, Geneseo.	W. L. Vandeventer, Mt. Ster'g.
R. M. Grennel, Cordovia.	Cornelius Rourke, Petersburg.
Alfred S. Curtis, Oneida.	Thomas G. Black, Clayton.
Jos. F. Latimer, Abingdon.	Hope S. Davis, Quincy.
A. M. Brown, Galesburg.	J. H. Hendrickson, Mendon.
C. W. Boydston, Cameron.	Asa C. Mathews, Pittsfield.
E. K. Westfall, Bushnell.	S. R. Powell, Winchester.
C. H. Whitaker, Macomb.	B. J. Hall, Hardin.
Charles F. Gill, LaHarpe.	I. L. Morrison, Jacksonville.
Geo. P. Walker, Warsaw.	W. P. Callon, Jacksonville.
John J. Reaburn, Denver.	Lucien King, Kane.
J. A. Leeper, Farmington.	R. Rowett, Carlinville.
Chas. F. Robison, Ellisville.	H. W. Wall, Staunton.
W. T. McCreery, Huntsville.	J. N. English, Jerseyville.
L. A. Wood, Chillicothe.	John S. Dewey, Troy.
Nelson D. Jay, Elmwood.	S. A. Buckmaster, Alton.
Robert S. Bibb, Peoria.	F. M. Pearce, Alhambra.
Joseph C. Ross, Lincoln.	R. Tierney, Okawville.
D. C. Smith, Pekin.	W. M. Evans, Greenville.
Wm. A. Moore, Morton.	G. F. Berry, Greenville.
T. F. Mitchell, Bloomington.	F. Remann, Vandalia.
J. F. Winter, ¹ Bloomington.	A. J. Hogge, Greenland.
T. P. Rogers, Bloomington.	Thos. E. Merritt, Salem.
Thomas J. Abel, Decatur.	H. H. Chessley, Louisville.
Samuel S. Jack, Decatur.	W. R. Wilkinson, Friendsville.
Wm. L. Chambers, Clinton.	Geo. D. Ramsey, Xenia.
Robert A. Bower, Tolono.	W. Lindsey, Martinsville.
E. C. Bartholo, Mahomet.	J. H. Halley, ² Newton.
Simeon H. Busey, Urbana.	A. J. Reavill, Flat Rock.
J. H. Oakwood, Catlin.	Ross Graham, Carmi.
Alvan Gilbert, Rossville.	T. Connelly, McLeansboro.
Robt. L. McKinlay, Paris.	T. J. Williams, Spring Garden
Henry A. Neal, Charleston.	P. Phillips, Webb's Hill.
R. Hefferman, Mattoon.	J. M. Washburn, Marion.
Stephen Cannon, Sullivan.	T. M. Mooneyham, Benton.
Gersham Monohon, Greenup.	T. T. Fountain, DuQuoin.
N. P. Robinson, Effingham.	J. Boyd, Pinckneyville.
Thos. J. Fritts, Cold Springs.	S. P. Mace, Percy.

¹ Resignation accepted August 8, 1877.² Resigned Aug. 2, 1877.

J. W. Wells, Marrissa. F. E. Albright, Murphysboro.
A. S. Wilderman, Belleville. W. S. Morris, Elizabethtown.
J. M. Whitaker, Summerfield. A. D. Pierce, Golconda.
W. H. Woodward, Carbondale. E. B. Watkins, Mound City.
Alex. H. Irwin¹, Cairo.

The Republicans being in the minority in the Senate, the Democrats and Independents united and organized this body. Fawcett Plumb was elected President *pro tempore*, and James H. Paddock, Secretary.

In the House, James Shaw was elected Speaker, over Samuel A. Buckmaster, by a vote of 78 to 65, and E. F. Dutton, Clerk, over Thomas S. Bouton, by a vote of 79 to 70.

Governor Beveridge presented his message to the two houses on the 5th. It contained the usual recommendations, and closed with this patriotic reference to National questions:

"In my former messages I studiously avoided all questions of National polity, confining myself strictly to matters of State. At the close of my administration, and in view of the fact that the Nation has lately passed through the excitement of a popular election, and the public mind is more or less agitated by the results of that election, it may not be improper in me to express my confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of the American people peaceably to adjust all difficulties. I advise moderation, invoke wise counsels, and supplicate peace. We want no more war. The blood of the late fratricidal strife still reddens the earth; the graves of the fallen are yet fresh and visible; their widows and orphans are still living among us; the griefs and sorrows of the heart are yet unassuaged. Keeping in grateful remembrance the heroic sacrifice for our country, let us lay aside all animosity and bitterness, heal the broken hearts, build up the waste places, and bind all sections of our beloved country forever together by the bonds of love and prosperity. No matter how the Presidential question may be eventually decided by the proper authorities, for one I shall willingly submit to the decision, and join all persons of every party for the maintenance of law, the preservation of public order, and the protection of all citizens of every race, color and condition,

¹ Resigned, February 12, 1878.

in the full and peaceable enjoyment and exercise of all their rights, privileges and immunities under the Constitution and the laws."

During the administration of Governor Beveridge, the principal of the State debt was reduced \$250,000.

On January 9, the incoming Governor, S. M. Cullom, took the oath of office and delivered his inaugural message to the two houses. Lieut.-Gov. Shuman entered upon his duties as presiding officer of the Senate the same day.

Among other duties devolving upon this General Assembly was the election of a United States Senator. Gen. John A. Logan was the unanimous nominee of the Republican caucus, and Gen. John M. Palmer of the Democratic. The Independents held the balance of power, consequently neither of the candidates possessed a majority. The two houses met in joint session on the 18th of January, and balloted six times for Senator. On the first ballot Logan received the votes of 21 Senators and 78 Representatives, and Palmer 21 Senators and 67 Representatives. Seven Senators voted for Wm. B. Anderson, and six Representatives for David Davis. Two members of the House—Busey and Bartholo—refrained from voting. On the last ballot Logan's vote remained the same while Palmer lost two; Anderson received 7 and Davis 7. On the 22d the name of Gen. Palmer was withdrawn, and on the first ballot thereafter Logan received 99 votes, Wm. B. Anderson 85, John C. Haines 7, Wm. C. Goudy 7, Wm. H. Parish 1, A. A. Glenn 1, S. S. Marshall 1, and C. B. Lawrence 1. Five additional ballots were taken with a similar result. On the 24th, the name of Gen. Logan was withdrawn, and on the first ballot thereafter David Davis received 97 votes, C. B. Lawrence 86, John C. Haines 7, John A. Logan 2, Wm. H. Parish 1, Jehu Baker 1, S. M. Cullom 1, R. G. Ingersoll 1, G. B. Raum 1, and J. L. Beveridge 1. Five ballots were indulged in that day without choice.

On the 40th ballot for Senator, which occurred on the 25th of January, the whole number of votes cast were 200, of which David Davis received 101, C. B. Lawrence 94, John C. Haines 3, Wm. H. Parish 1, John A. Logan 1. Mr. Davis having received a majority of all the votes cast, the Speaker declared him the duly elected Senator. The highest number of votes during the contest received by Gen. Logan was 100, and by Gov. Palmer 89.

The chief acts, exclusive of the appropriations, were: to provide the manner of proposing amendments to the constitution; to levy and collect back taxes of incorporated cities; for the relief of disabled members of police and fire departments; to establish Appellate Courts; to divide the State into judicial districts; to extend the jurisdiction of county courts; defining vagabonds and prescribing punishment; to prevent and punish wrongs to children; to punish fraud or extravagance in the expenditure of moneys appropriated for public improvements; to amend the liquor law; to amend the election law; to amend an act concerning insolvent debtors; to provide for the organization of the State militia; relating to miners; providing for the health and safety of persons employed in coal mines; to amend an act relating to the payment of railroad bonds by counties, cities and other municipal corporations; relating to fencing and operating railroads; to protect passengers on railroads; to prevent obstructing the business of railroads; to fix rates of storage in the warehouses; to amend the school law, and to establish a State Board of Health.

The two houses adjourned *sine die* May 24.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1878.

The campaign of 1878 was ushered in by the nomination of three State tickets. The Greenback party held their convention first. Erastus N. Bates, ex-Republican Treasurer, was nominated for Treasurer, and F. M. Hall, for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Republicans nominated John C. Smith, for Treasurer, and James P. Slade, for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Democrats nominated Edward L. Cronkrite, for Treasurer, and Samuel M. Etter, the then incumbent, for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Although three parties were contesting for the offices to be filled at that election, there was but little enthusiasm aroused among the people in general, and the candidates made more of a personal canvass than otherwise. The Republican ticket was elected by a plurality of 36,878.

The aggregate vote for State officers and members of Congress is as follows:

TREASURER.

John C. Smith, R.....	206,458
Edward L. Cronkrite, D.....	170,085
Erastus N. Bates, G.....	65,689
Jerome A. Gorin.....	2,228

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

James P. Slade, R.....	205,461
Samuel M. Etter, D.....	171,336
F. M. Hall, G.....	65,487
Kate L. Hopkins.....	2,109

FIRST DISTRICT.

William Aldrich, R.....	12,165
James R. Doolittle, D.....	7,136
William V. Barr.....	1,844
John McAuliff.....	2,322
George R. Davis	2

SECOND DISTRICT.

George R. Davis, R.....	10,847
Miles Kehoe, Ind. D.....	6,111
James Felch.....	1,600
George A. Schilling.....	2,473
J. H. Condon.....	250
John Sebolski.....	74

THIRD DISTRICT.

Hiram Barber, R.....	9,574
Lambert Tree, D.....	5,280
A. B. Cornell.....	884
Benjamin Sibley.....	2,306

FOURTH DISTRICT.

John C. Sherwin, R.....	12,753
Jonathan C. Stoughton.....	4,438
Augustus Adams.....	3,448

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Robert M. A. Hawk, R.....	11,042
Mortimer D. Hathaway.....	4,823
John M. King.....	4,804

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Thomas J. Henderson, R.....	10,964
James W. Haney.....	6,675
Charles Dunham.....	3,257

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Philip C. Hayes, R.....	10,712
W. S. Brooks.....	5,795
Alexander Campbell.....	6,512

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Greenbury L. Fort, R.....	11,271
Thomas M. Shaw.....	4,822
Chris. C. Strawn.....	6,575

NINTH DISTRICT.

Thomas A. Boyd, R.....	10,543
George A. Wilson, D.....	9,802
Alex. H. McKeighan, G.....	3,749

TENTH DISTRICT.

Benjamin F. Marsh, R.....	11,814
Delas P. Phelps, D.....	11,288
Alson J. Streetor, G.....	3,496

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

James W. Singleton, D.....	11,961
James P. Dimmitt, R.....	6,956
William H. Pogue.....	3,034

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

William M. Springer, D.....	12,542
John Cook, R.....	9,146
John Mathers, G.....	4,611

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

A. E. Stevenson, G.....	13,870
Thomas F. Tipton, R.....	12,058
L. M. Bickmore.....	135

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT.

Joseph G. Cannon, R.....	13,698
Malden Jones, D.....	11,527
Jesse Harper, G.....	4,451

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.

Albert P. Forsyth, G.....	13,106
Hiram B. Decius, D.....	12,942

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT.

William A. J. Sparks, D.....	11,493
Basil B. Smith, R.....	9,946
James Creed.....	2,139

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT.

William R. Morrison, D.....	12,436
Jehu Baker, R.....	10,605
William E. Moberly.....	1,598

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT.

John R. Thomas, R.....	12,686
W. J. Allen, D.....	12,074
S. J. Davis, G.....	2,454

NINETEENTH DISTRICT.

R. W. Townshend, D.....	12,603
Robert Bell, R.....	8,190
Seth F. Crews.....	2,847

CHAPTER XXXVII.

SIDNEY BREESE.

He is the Projector of the Illinois Central Railroad—His Wonderful Prediction regarding the Growth and Magnitude of Railways in the United States.

Until the death of Judge Breese it had never been quite understood who was justly entitled to the credit of projecting the Illinois Central Railroad, which has added untold wealth to the prairie State. Judge Breese himself lays claim to having projected the enterprise. In the elaborate memorial address of Melville W. Fuller, of Chicago, before the Illinois Bar Association, at Springfield, in January, 1879, on the life and services of Judge Breese, we find this definitely satisfactory statement regarding the origin of the great enterprise. Said he:

“In October, 1835, Judge Breese called the attention of the public to the importance of a direct connection of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, then in course of construction, with the lower Mississippi at Cairo, by a railroad, proposing that the road should start from the termination of the

oanal, and proceed as near as might be by the route of the third principal meridian, through Bloomington, Decatur, Vandalia, Carlyle, Nashville, Pinckneyville, Brownsville and Jonesboro, and pointing out how it could be done and by what means, and from that time until the great result was achieved he labored steadily to bring it about, opposing, however, the act of February, 1837, for a general system of internal improvements.

"In Congress, his first movement in favor of the project was marked by great sagacity. He introduced, in January, 1844, and obtained the passage of, a resolution instructing the Committee on Naval Affairs to provide for an examination of the locality at, or near, the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, with a view to the establishment of a naval depot and dockyard, which he supported in an elaborate letter, under date of February 29, 1844, to Hon. R. H. Bayard, of Delaware, chairman of that committee, which was printed by order of the Senate, and, among other things, contained the following: 'At some period, not distant, the projected railroad will be constructed from the iron mountains and copper mines in Missouri to the Mississippi river, opposite the mouth of the Ohio. From the cars which bring metal from the mines, transported across the river in ferry boats, it will be deposited in public stores for use, or in private stores for transportation to more distant markets. Nor will it be long before the Central or Great Western Railway of Illinois will be constructed, opening a route toward the lakes, never to be obstructed by low water or ice. Commencing at the site of the proposed depot, and running near five hundred miles through a region of unsurpassed fertility, it will not only bring in supplies inexhaustible, but open a communication through which naval stores may be sent to the lakes, it being connected with the projected canals in Illinois and Indiana, without transhipment from boats on the rivers, or the interposition of other causes, which would render their transportation from other points more dilatory and expensive.'

"This was the entering wedge which opened up an inquiry, resulting, to use Judge Breese's language a few years after, 'in the growth of a great city at that point, of which our State will be proud. Like another queen, she will yet rise in splendor from the waters.'

"In March, 1844, a bill for a grant for railway purposes was introduced in the House by Col. McClerland, 'than whom,' writes Judge Breese, 'our State never had an abler

member ;' and Senator Breese, in addition to a bill offered in December, 1844, introduced one in January, 1846, to grant to the State of Illinois alternate sections of land to aid in the construction of the road, making as Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, to which the bill was referred, the first full report ever made to Congress on the subject. In January, 1848, Senator Breese made an elaborate report upon a bill of Senator Douglas, and in July, 1848, reported the bill of Senator, afterward Vice-President, King, in favor of Alabama.

"In December, 1848, Senator Breese made another report upon a bill of Judge Douglas, going fully into the whole subject, and endeavoring to obviate all constitutional and other objections to such grants, and the argument contained in it was made the basis of all the subsequent grants to this and other States.

"In September, 1850, after Judge Breese left the Senate, a bill was passed which consolidated his original bill of 1846, with that of Senator King, of 1848, and under this we obtained the land.

"In 1851, when Judge Breese was a member of the General Assembly, and Speaker of the House, the act was passed incorporating the Illinois Central Railroad Company, and giving it the benefit of the grant, and Judge Breese thus witnessed the close of his long labors in this direction, labors, to some of which only this is but a mere reference, and it was in that year that he published a letter in which he says: 'I claim to have first projected this great road in my letter of 1835, and in the judgment of impartial and disinterested men my claim will be allowed. I have said and written more in favor of it than any other. It has been my highest ambition to accomplish it, and when my last resting place shall be marked by the cold marble which gratitude or affection may erect, I desire for it no other inscription than this, that he who sleeps beneath it projected the Central Railroad.' "

As an evidence of the master foresight of Judge Breese, regarding the benefits which were to follow the path of the iron horse, we transfer to these pages an extract from a report he made in July, 1846, when a Senator in Congress and Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. It relates to a memorial of A. Whitney, for a grant of land

to enable him to build a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific ocean. Summing up the whole question of railroad construction, he said:

"Our whole country will be brought together at the grand centre in the short space of *four days*, allowing us not only to transport passengers, but *all* descriptions of merchandise and produce, from the grand center to New Orleans, Savannah, Charleston, Richmond and Norfolk, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, and to the Pacific, in the same time, *four days*; and from the Pacific to any of the above cities in less than *eight days*, and to China in *twenty days*; so that we can bring our vast country together in *four days*, and the extremes of the globe in *thirty days*. A cargo of teas from China may then be delivered in any of our Atlantic cities in *thirty days* and in London or Liverpool in less than *forty-five days*."

Judge Breese was one of the truly great men of his day, and his highest ambition seemed to be to do something that would benefit his country and mankind, and few men have accomplished more in that direction than he.

From the first advent of Judge Breese into the State to the day of his death, he held public office, but it is also true that the office sought him more than he sought it. He was a native of New York, born July 15, 1800; and in company with Samuel D. Lockwood, came to Illinois in 1818, arriving at Shawneetown by a flat-boat, and from thence he made his way across the country to Kaskaskia, then the seat of government, where he was made Assistant Secretary of State, under Elias Kent Kane, who had been a schoolmate in New York, and at whose solicitation he came West. One of his earliest achievements was the compilation and publication of the Reports of the Supreme Court from the years 1818 to 1831; and it is said of him that he personally superintended their printing, and actually set much of the type. He was Postmaster of Kaskaskia, Circuit Attorney under the administrations of Governors Bond and Coles; U. S. District

Attorney under President Adams; Circuit Judge, Chief Justice, United States Senator for six years; Representative in the Seventeenth General Assembly in 1851-52, and Speaker of that body; and in 1857 he was again elected to the Supreme Court of the State, which position he continued to hold until his death, which occurred June 28, 1878.

Judge Breese may justly be styled a benefactor of his country, for he seemed to have filled, at the close of a long and useful life, in full measure, the work God and nature had assigned him.

Politically, Judge Breese died as he had lived, an adherent of the Democratic party.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1879.

Governor—Shelby M. Cullom.

Lieutenant-Governor—Andrew Shuman.

Secretary of State—Geo. H. Harlow.

Auditor of Public Accounts—T. B. Needles.

Treasurer—John C. Smith.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—Jas. P. Slade.

Attorney General—Jas. K. Edsall.

THIRTY-FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Thirty-first General Assembly convened January 8, and was composed of the following members.

Senate.

George E. White, Chicago.	W. T. Johnston, Chicago.
Daniel N. Bash, Chicago.	M. A. DeLany, Chicago.
Sylvester Artley, Chicago.	W. J. Campbell, Chicago.
Francis A. Riddle, Chicago.	M. L. Joslyn, Woodstock.

C. E. Fuller, Belvidere.	George Hunt, Paris.
R. H. McClellan, Galena.	Malden Jones, Tuscola.
Charles Bent, Morrison.	E. N. Rinehart, Effingham.
H. D. Dement, Dixon.	E. Southworth, Litchfield.
J. R. Marshall, Yorkville.	Wm. E. Shutt, Springfield.
J. H. Mayborne, Geneva.	Luther Dearborn, Havana.
Sylvester W. Munn, Joliet.	Maurice Kelly, Liberty.
T. P. Bonfield, Kankakee.	Wm. R. Archer, Pittsfield.
S. R. Lewis, Ottawa.	Wm. P. Callon, Jacksonville.
S. T. Fosdick, Chatsworth.	G. W. Herdman, Jerseyville.
L. D. Whiting, Tiskilwa.	A. J. Parkinson, Highland.
Henry J. Frantz, Roanoke.	F. E. W. Brink, Hoylton.
Milton M. Ford, Galva.	Thos. E. Merritt, Salem.
B. C. Taliaferro, Keithsburg.	R. P. Hanna, Fairfield.
Wm. H. Neece, Macomb.	Wm. C. Wilson, Robinson.
Wm. Scott, Dallas City.	Chas. E. McDowell, Carmi.
Meredith Walker, Canton.	S. L. Cheaney, Harrisburg.
John S. Lee, Peoria.	Ambrose Hœner, Waterloo.
Abram Mayfield, Lincoln.	John Thomas, Belleville.
J. M. Hamilton, Bloomington	Jesse Ware, Jonesboro.
Wm. T. Moffett, Decatur.	A. J. Kuykendall, Vienna.
C. P. Davis, Monticello.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

W. H. Thompson, Chicago.	B. F. Weber, Havelock.
M. J. Wentworth, Chicago.	F. K. Granger, McHenry.
D. W. Clark, Jr., Chicago.	W. A. James, Highland Park
Benj. M. Wilson, Chicago.	William Price, Waukegan.
S. P. Hopkins, Chicago.	Omar H. Wright, Belvidere.
Patrick T. Barry, Chicago.	T. Butterworth, Rockford.
Leo Meilbeck, Chicago.	H. W. Taylor, Rockford.
T. J. Walsh, Chicago.	James I. Neff, Freeport.
John B. Taylor, Chicago.	Andrew Hinds, Oneco.
Lewis H. Bisbee, Chicago.	Chas. S. Burt, Dunleith.
E. B. Sherman, Chicago.	James Shaw, Mt. Carroll.
J. E. Murray, Chicago.	W. H. Allen, Erie.
Wm. E. Mason, Chicago.	J. M. Pratt, Pratt.
Chas. Ehrhardt, Chicago.	Frank N. Tice, Forrest.
Thos. F. O'Malley, Chicago.	B. H. Truesdell, Amboy.
Christian Meyer, Chicago.	A. P. Dysart, Nachusa.
Austin Sexton, Chicago.	Wm. M. Byers, Sycamore.
Horace M. Thomas, Chicago.	R. M. Brigham, Sandwich.
L. C. Collins Jr, Norwood P'rk	Alonzo B. Smith, Oswego.
G. G. Struckman, Hanover.	Edward C. Lovell, Elgin.

- J. C. Wright,¹ Naperville.
 J. Herrington, Geneva.
 J. Keniston, Wilton Center.
 Fred Kouka, Beecher.
 Wm. B. Thomson, Joliet.
 Conrad Secrest, Watseka.
 M. H. Peters, Watseka.
 A. Buck, Pilot Center.
 L. B. Crooker, Mendota.
 Francis Bowen, Sheridan.
 David Richey, Tonica.
 George B. Gray, Pontiac.
 N. E. Stevens, Paxton.
 Calvin H. Frew, Paxton.
 Alfred G. Scott, Sheffield.
 S. F. Otman, Wyoming.
 Simon Elliot, Princeton.
 Joel A. Ranney, Cazenovia.
 Geo. F. Wightman, Lacon.
 C. Fosbender, Sparland.
 A. R. Mock, Cambridge.
 John W. Foy, Atkinson.
 J. W. Simonson, Port Byron.
 Rufus W. Miles, Gilson.
 J. F. Latimer, Abingdon.
 John Sloan, Douglas.
 Henry M. Lewis, Berwick.
 Henry Black, Doddsville.
 Edwin W. Allen, Berwick.
 T. B. Brumback, Plymouth.
 John J. Reaburn, Denver.
 B. R. Hamilton, Nauvoo.
 Hosea Davis, Littleton.
 C. F. Robison, Ellisville.
 W. T. McCreery, Birmingham.
 H. R. Chase, Robin's Nest.
 Bernard Cremer, Peoria.
 W. Cockle,¹ Peoria.
 David H. Harts, Lincoln.
 G. P. Orendorff, Hopedale.
 William R. Hall, Pekin.
 T. F. Mitchell, Bloomington.
 H. A. Ewing, Bloomington.
 T. P. Rogers, Bloomington.
 John H. Tyler, DeWitt.
 Geo. K. Ingham, Kenney.
 B. K. Durfee, Decatur.
 Geo. Scroggs,¹ Champaign.
 James Core, Homer.
 Wm. A. Day, Champaign.
 John G. Holden, Danville.
 L. Marston, Hoopeston.
 R. L. McKinlay, Paris.
 O. B. Ficklin, Charleston.
 A. Thomason, Lovington.
 Henry A. Neal, Charleston.
 W. M. Abraham, Watson.
 James L. Ryan, Greenup.
 B. Scarlett, Moweaqua.
 J. B. Jones, Taylorville.
 W. Y. Crosthwait, Grove City.
 Geo. L. Zink, Litchfield.
 W. L. Gross, Springfield.
 John C. Snigg, Springfield.
 Carter Tracy, Rochester.
 J. F. Snyder, Virginia.
 J. W. Savage, Virginia.
 Jacob Wheeler,¹ Havana.
 S. Mileham, Camp Point.
 A. M. Samuel, Burton.
 Joseph N. Carter, Quincy.
 Asa C. Mathews, Pittsfield.
 S. R. Powell, Winchester.
 Jas. H. Pleasants, Hardin.
 I. L. Morrison, Jacksonville.
 R. Vasey, Jacksonville.
 F. M. Bridges, Carrollton.
 H. W. Wall, Staunton.
 J. N. English, Jerseyville.
 Geo. E. Warren, Jerseyville.
 W. R. Prickett, Edwardsville.
 John M. Pearson, Godfrey.
 John S. Dewey, Troy.
 T. D. Hinckley, Hoyleton.
 S. W. Jones, Nashville.
 John L. Nichols, Clement.
 J. E. W. Hammond, Omega.
 Francis M. Bolt, Vandalia.

¹Resigned.

James S. Jackson, Iuka.	J. T. McBride, Chester.
J. Zimmerman, Mt. Carmel.	J. R. McFie, Coulterville.
William Bower, Olney.	P. C. C. Provart, Paradise Pr.
Chas. Churchill, Albion.	T. C. Jennings, East St. Louis.
J. R. Johnson, West Liberty.	Joseph Veile, Millstadt.
J. W. Graham, Marshall.	Henry Seiter, Lebanon.
A. J. Reavell, Robinson.	C. H. Layman, Murphysboro.
A. M. Green, Mt. Vernon.	T. T. Robinson, Pomona.
J. R. Moss, Mt. Vernon.	T. W. Halliday, Cairo.
C. M. Lyon, McLeansboro.	James H. Carter, Vienna.
J. M. Gregg, Harrisburg.	H. H. Spencer, Mound City.
S. C. Hall, New Haven.	T. G. Farris, ¹ Vienna.
W. Trammell, Stone Fort.	W. V. Eldredge, ² Golconda.

Lieut.-Gov. Shuman presided over the Senate. John M. Hamilton, of McLean, was elected President *pro tempore*, over Wm. R. Archer, of Pike, by a vote of 27 to 22, and Jas. H. Paddock, of Kankakee, Secretary, over Edward L. Merritt, of Sangamon, by a vote of 27 to 22.

In the House, Wm. A. James, of Lake, was elected Speaker, over James Herrington, of Kane, by a vote of 81 to 59, and W. B. Taylor, of Marshall, Clerk, over Jerry Crowley, of Cook, by a vote of 78 to 62.

On the 10th of January, the message of the Governor was read in the two houses. It contained the usual recommendations.

The two houses met in joint session on the 21st of January, and Gen. John A. Logan was elected United States Senator, over Gen. John C. Black, by a vote of 80 to 60. Gen. Black was the Democratic candidate. Ten votes were cast for Alexander Campbell, Greenback, and 3 for John McAuliffe, Socialist.

The principal laws passed at this session, exclusive of the appropriation bills, were acts to create a Bureau of Labor Statistics; to protect bank depositors; to prevent fraud in the manufacture and sale of butter; to provide for the construction, repair and protection of drains, ditches

¹Died, December 10, 1878.

²Vice Farris, deceased.

and levees across the lands of others; to amend the election law; to encourage the cultivation of fishes; to amend the game law; to amend the insurance laws; to fix the rate of interest; to provide for the reorganization of the State militia; to provide for the safety of persons employed in coal mines; to regulate pawn-brokers; to regulate the manner of applying for pardons; to amend an act for the protection of passengers on railroads; to amend an act to regulate public warehouses; to amend an act relating to the payment of county and city railroad indebtedness; to amend the revenue law; to amend the school law, and to abolish the Board of State House Commissioners.

The duration of this session was 143 days.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1880.

This was one of the greatest campaigns within a quarter of a century. The aggregate vote for the five electoral tickets—Democratic, Republican, Greenback, Prohibition, and Anti-Secret Society—was 622,118. As seems to have become the custom, the Republicans were the first to take action, their convention meeting May 20, to nominate a State ticket and appoint delegates to the National Convention. Shelby M. Cullop was nominated for Governor; John M. Hamilton, for Lieutenant-Governor; Henry D. Dement, for Secretary of State; Charles P. Swigert, for Auditor; Edward Rutz, for Treasurer, and James McCarty, for Attorney-General.

The Greenback party met June 9, and nominated A. J. Streeter, for Governor, Andrew M. Adair, for Lieutenant

Governor; J. M. Thompson, for Secretary of State; W. T. Ingram, for Auditor; J. W. Evans, for Treasurer, and H. G. Whitlock, for Attorney-General.

The Democrats met June 10, and nominated Lyman Trumbull, for Governor; Lewis B. Parsons, for Lieutenant-Governor; John H. Oberly, for Secretary of State; Louis C. Starkel, for Auditor; Thomas Butterworth, for Treasurer, and Lawrence Harmon, for Attorney-General.

The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, June 2, and nominated James A. Garfield for President, and Chester A. Arthur for Vice-President.

The Greenback party met in the same city in June, and nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and P. J. Chambers for Vice-President.

The Democrats met at Cincinnati in July, and nominated Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President.

The Republicans made a bold, aggressive canvass, taking as the keynote of the campaign the tariff question.

Although the Democratic ticket was composed, for the most part, of men of eminent ability, they did not enter upon a general discussion of the issues which divided the parties, but made the campaign more in the character of personal visits among the people; but an active and vigorous assault was kept up all along the line by the champions of their national ticket.

The Greenback party made but little effort, understanding, as its leaders did, that its cause was utterly hopeless.

The aggregate vote for State officers, Congressmen and Presidential electors, is as follows:

GOVERNOR.

Shelby M. Cullom, R	814,565
Lyman Trumbull, D.....	277,532
A. J. Streeter, G	28,898
Uriah Copp, Jr.....	122

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

John M. Hamilton, R.....	317,160
Lewis B. Parsons, D.....	275,966
Andrew M. Adair, G.....	26,774
J. R. Lawrence	179

SECRETARY OF STATE.

Henry D. Dement, R.....	317,422
John H. Oberly, D.....	277,122
J. M. Thompson, G.....	26,687
Samuel Reed	127

AUDITOR.

Charles P. Swigert, R.....	317,872
Louis C. Starkel, D.....	276,440
W. T. Ingram, G.....	26,213
W. L. Cressy	126

TREASURER.

Edward Rutz, R.....	317,732
Thomas Butterworth, D.....	276,670
J. W. Evans, G.....	26,658
George Harrington	182

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

James McCartney, R.....	318,173
Lawrence Harmon, D.....	176,062
H. G. Whitlock, G.....	26,207
Alsey B. Lee	129

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

William Aldrich, R.....	22,307
John Mattocks, D.....	18,024
Richard Powers.....	532
J. Altpeter.....	605

SECOND DISTRICT.

George R. Davis, R.....	20,603
John F. Farnsworth, Ind.....	16,014
O. A. Bishop	29
Charles G. Dixon	461
Reinhard Loremy.....	514

THIRD DISTRICT.

Charles B. Farwell, R.....	16,627
Perry H. Smith, Jr., D.....	11,903
Charles H. Adams.....	221
Oscar Neebe.....	141
Adolph Waldmann	114

FOURTH DISTRICT.

John C. Sherwin, R	20,881
Norman C. Warner, D.....	8,055
E. W. Blaisdell	1,159

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Robert M. A. Hawk, R.....	17,061
Larmar G. Johnson, D.....	7,468
John M. King.....	4,160

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Thomas J. Henderson, R.....	16,650
B. H. Truesdell, D.....	9,681
P. L. McKinney.....	2,637

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

William Cullen, R.....	16,628
Daniel Evans, D.....	12,064
Royal E. Barber	2,204

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

Lewis E. Payson, R.....	16,704
Robert R. Wallace.....	13,972

NINTH DISTRICT.

John H. Lewis, R.....	14,658
John S. Lee, D.....	14,294
Wm. H. Reynolds, P.....	2,548

TENTH DISTRICT.

Benj. F. Marsh, R.....	14,798
Robert Holloway, D.....	13,877
George C. Meador.....	713

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

James W. Singleton, D.....	17,842
William H. Edgar, D	12,490
A. B. Allen.....	1,765

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

William M. Springer, D.....	17,390
Isaac L. Morrison, R.....	14,761
Hy. M. Miller.....	1,557

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

Deitrich C. Smith, R.....	16,433
Adlai E. Stevenson, G. D.....	16,115

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT.

Joseph G. Cannon, R.....	19,710
James R. Scott, D.....	17,734

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.

Samuel W. Moulton, D.....	19,364
Albert G. Forsythe, G	16,810

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT.

William A. J. Sparks, D	15,392
P. E. Hosmer, R	13,921
G. W. Rutherford	1,331

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT.

Wm. R. Morrison, D.....	16,950
John B. Hay, R.....	15,986

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT.

John R. Thomas, R.....	16,873
William Hartzell, D.....	15,146
A. B. Roberson.....	1,002

NINETEENTH DISTRICT.

Richard W. Townshend, D.....	18,021
Charles W. Pavey, R.....	14,561
Samuel E. Flaunagan, G.....	1,456

ELECTORS—GARFIELD.

George Schneider.....	318,020
Ethelbert Callahan.....	318,031
Robert T. Lincoln.....	318,087
J. M. Smyth.....	318,033
James A. Kirk.....	318,036

C. M. Brazee.....	318,018
R. E. Logan.....	318,033
I. H. Elliott.....	318,031
James Goodspeed.....	318,033
Alfred Sample.....	318,027
S. D. Puterbaugh.....	318,031
E. C. Humphrey.....	318,030
William A. Grimshaw.....	318,033
J. C. McQuigg.....	318,024
J. H. Rowell.....	318,033
William R. Jewell.....	318,034
J. M. Sheets.....	318,030
James W. Peterson.....	318,028
W. T. Norton.....	318,033
George W. Smith.....	318,033
William H. Johnson.....	317,879

HANCOCK.

William J. Allen.....	277,314
James S. Ewing.....	277,307
William C. Seipp.....	277,321
William J. Hynes.....	277,311
F. A. Hoffman, Jr.....	277,312
T. B. Coulter.....	277,313
Frederick Stahl.....	277,312
J. S. Eckles.....	277,311
Patrick Healey.....	277,311
Louis F. Feilitzsch.....	277,313
James W. Butler.....	277,314
William G. Ewing.....	277,313
Lloyd F. Hamilton.....	277,312
Ambrose M. Miller.....	277,311
William M. Bandy.....	277,312
Robert L. McKinlay.....	277,311
John W. Westcott.....	277,312
James M. Dill.....	277,312
Monroe C. Crawford.....	277,313
George S. Fuhr.....	277,310
Edmund D. Youngblood.....	277,225

INDEPENDENT GREENBACK.

Alexander Campbell.....	26,191
Jesse Harper.....	26,288
O. J. Smith.....	26,358
B. S. Heath	26,355

Richard Griffiths.....	26,329
E. T. Reeves.....	26,347
J. M. Pratt.....	26,353
Simon Elliott.....	26,354
Fawcett Plumb.....	26,354
Thomas Wolfe.....	26,354
J. B. Neyley.....	26,353
S. T. Shelton.....	26,356
W. L. Oliver.....	26,354
A. G. Mantz	26,345
Frank P. Hobart.....	26,353
William Pitt.....	26,354
George Dalby.....	26,353
W. L. F. Stoddard.....	26,352
J. A. Clendenning.....	26,353
Henry Winter	26,354
James H. Smith.....	26,352

The Prohibitionists had an electoral ticket at this election, which received 440 votes, and also the Anti-Secret Society party, which received 153 votes.

CHAPTER XL.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

How he First Entered the Army in the War for the Union—His Correspondence With Lee—An Insult to the President and the Nation.

The name of this distinguished soldier and eminent statesman is inseparably connected with the politics of Illinois, and while we may not be able to say much that is new of him, yet we have collected some matters connected with his life which should be treasured in a volume of this character, and which cannot otherwise be found without much research.



W. J. Linn

WATERS AND FLOWS OF PLASMA.

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He then declared that at this election he had 13 votes and also the Adj-Secretary had 13 votes.

CHARTER OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

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The War for the Slave - His Correspondence, 1864-1865.

A distinguished soldier and eminent
candy connected with the qualities of
the we may not be able to say much that
yet we have collected some matters con-
cerning which should be arranged in a volume
separate and which cannot otherwise be found



G. A. Brant

Gen. Grant's native State is Ohio; he was born in Clermont county, in the town of Point Pleasant, April 27, 1822; he was educated at West Point, graduating in 1843; was second lieutenant in the Fourth Infantry; served in the Mexican war, and participated in nearly every battle; was promoted to the rank of captain; he resigned his commission in 1854, and took up his residence on a farm near St. Louis; in 1859 he came to Illinois, locating at Galena, where he was residing when the war for the Union ensued.

How GRANT ENTERED THE ARMY.

Governor Yates, in his last biennial message to the General Assembly of 1865, thus graphically tells how Gen. Grant first entered the service of his country in 1861:

"Prominent among the many distinguished names who have borne their early commissions from Illinois, I refer, with special pride, to the character and priceless services to the country of Ulysses S. Grant. In April, 1861, he tendered his personal services to me, saying 'that he had been the recipient of a military education at West Point, and that now, when the country was involved in a war for its preservation and safety, he thought it his duty to offer his services in defense of the Union, and that he would esteem it a privilege to be assigned to any position where he could be useful.' The plain, straightforward demeanor of the man, and the modesty and earnestness which characterized his offer of assistance, at once awakened a lively interest in him, and impressed me with a desire to secure his counsel for the benefit of volunteer organizations then forming for Government service. At first I assigned him a desk in the Executive office; and his familiarity with military organization and regulations made him an invaluable assistant in my own and the office of the Adjutant-General. Soon his admirable qualities as a military commander became apparent, and I assigned him to command of the camps of organization at 'Camp Yates,' Springfield, 'Camp Grant,' Mattoon, and 'Camp Douglas,' at Anna, Union county, at which the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 18th, 19th and 21st regiments of Illinois Volunteers, raised under the call of the

President of the 15th of April, and under the 'Ten Regiment Bill,' of the extraordinary session of the Legislature, convened April 23, 1861, were rendezvoused. His employment had special reference to the organization and muster of these forces—the first six into United States, and the last three into the State service. This was accomplished about the 10th of May, 1861, at which time he left the State for a brief period, on a visit to his father, at Covington, Kentucky.

"The 21st regiment of Illinois volunteers, raised in Macon, Cumberland, Piatt, Douglas, Moultrie, Edgar, Clay, Clark, Crawford and Jasper counties, for thirty-day State service, organized at the camp at Mattoon, preparatory to three years' service for the Government, had become very much demoralized, under the thirty days' experiment, and doubts arose in relation to their acceptance for a longer period. I was much perplexed to find an efficient and experienced officer to assume command of the regiment, and take it into the three years' service. I ordered the regiment to Camp Yates, and after consulting Hon. Jesse K. Dubois, who had many friends in the regiment, and Col. John S. Loomis, Assistant Adjutant-General, who was at the time in charge of the Adjutant-General's office, and on terms of personal intimacy with Grant, I decided to offer the command to him, and accordingly telegraphed Captain Grant, at Covington, Kentucky, tendering him the Colonelcy. He immediately reported, accepting the commission, taking rank as Colonel of that regiment from the 15th day of June, 1861. Thirty days previous to that time the regiment numbered over one thousand men, but in consequence of laxity in discipline of the first commanding officer, and other discouraging obstacles connected with the acceptance of troops at that time, but six hundred and three men were found willing to enter the three years' service. In less than ten days Col. Grant filled the regiment to the maximum standard, and brought it to a state of discipline seldom attained in the volunteer service, in so short a time. His was the only regiment that left the camp of organization on foot. He marched from Springfield to the Illinois river, but, in an emergency requiring troops to operate against Missouri rebels, the regiment was transported, by rail, to Quincy, and Col. Grant was assigned to the command for the protection of the Quincy and Palmyra and Hannibal and St. Joseph railroads. He soon distinguished himself as a regimental commander in the field, and his claims for increased

rank were recognized by his friends in Springfield, and his promotion insisted upon before his merits and services were fairly understood at Washington. His promotion was made upon the ground of his military education, fifteen years' services as a Lieutenant and Captain in the regular army (during which time he was distinguished in the Mexican war), his great success in organizing and disciplining his regiment, and for his energetic and vigorous prosecution of the campaign in North Missouri, and the earnestness with which he entered into the great work of waging war against the traitorous enemies of his country. His first great battle was at Belmont, an engagement which became necessary to protect our southwestern army in Missouri from overwhelming forces being rapidly consolidated against it from Arkansas, Tennessee and Columbus, Kentucky. The struggle was a desperate one, but the tenacity and soldierly qualities of Grant and his invincible little army gave us the first practical victory in the West. The balance of his shining record is indelibly written in the history of Henry, Donelson, Shiloh, Corinth, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, the Wilderness, seige of Richmond, and the intricate and difficult command as Lieutenant-General of the armies of the Union—written in the blood and sacrifices of the heroic braves who have fallen, while following him to glorious victory—written upon the hearts and memories of the loyal millions who are at the hearthstones of our gallant and unconquerable ‘Boys in Blue.’ The impress of his genius stamps our armies, from one end of the Republic to the other; and the secret of his success in executing his plans, is in the love, enthusiasm and confidence he inspires in the soldier in the ranks, the harmony and respect of his subordinate officers, his own respect for and deference to the wishes and commands of the President, and his sympathy with the Government in its war policy.

“As evidence of the materials of the State of Illinois for war purposes, at the beginning of the war, and a pleasing incident of Grant’s career, I refer to an article in the Vicksburg paper, the ‘Weekly Sun,’ of May 13, 1861, which ridicules our enfeebled and unprepared condition, and says: ‘An official report made to Governor Yates, of Illinois, by one Captain Grant, says that after examining all the State armories, he finds the muskets amount to just nine hundred and four, and of them only sixty in servicable condition.’ Now the name of that man, who was looking up

the rusty muskets in Illinois, is glory-crowned with shining victories, and will fill thousands of history's brightest pages to the end of time. I know well the secret of his power, for afterwards, when I saw him at headquarters, upon the march, and on the battle field, in his plain, thread-bare uniform, modest in his deportment, careful of the wants of the humblest soldier, personally inspecting all the dispositions and divisions of his army, calm and courageous amidst the most destructive fire of the enemy, it was evident that he had the confidence of every man, from the highest officer down to the humblest drummer boy in his whole command. His generalship rivals that of Alexander and Napoleon, and his armies eclipse those of Greece and Rome in their proudest days of imperial grandeur. He is a gift of the Almighty Father to the Nation, in its extremity, and he has won his way to the exalted position he occupies through his own great perseverance, skill and indomitable bravery."

HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH LEE.

The following is the correspondence between Gen. Grant and Gen. Lee, relating to the surrender of Lee's army.

"APRIL 7, 1865.

"GENERAL—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of the further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the army of the Confederate States, known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

"Gen. R. E. LEE."

"U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General."

"APRIL 7, 1865.

"GENERAL—I have received your note of this date. Though not entertaining the opinion you express on the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, I reciprocate your desire to avoid useless effusion of blood, and, therefore, before considering your proposition, ask the terms you will offer on condition of its surrender.

"Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT."

"R. E. LEE,
General."

"APRIL 8, 1865.

"GENERAL—Your note of last evening in answer to mine of same date, asking on what terms I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply, I would say, that peace being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon, namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified from taking up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

"R. E. LEE, General."

"U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General."

"APRIL, 8, 1865.

"GENERAL—I received, at a late hour, your note of to-day. In mine, of yesterday, I did not intend to propose the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, but to ask the terms of your proposition. To be frank, I do not think the emergency has arisen to call for the surrender of this army; but as the restoration of peace should be the sole object of all, I desired to know whether your proposals would lead to that end. I can not, therefore, meet you with a view to the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia; but as far as your proposal may affect the Confederate forces under my command, and tend to the restoration of peace, I should be pleased to meet you at 10 a. m. to-morrow, on the old stage-road to Richmond, between the picket lines of the two armies.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General."

"R. E. LEE,
General."

"APRIL 9, 1865.

"GENERAL—Your note of yesterday is received. I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace. The meeting proposed for 10 a. m. could do no good. I will state, however, General, that I am equally anxious for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had, are well understood. By the South laying down their arms, they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives and hundreds of millions of property not

yet destroyed. Seriously hoping that all our difficulties may be settled without the loss of another life, I subscribe myself, etc.

"R. E. LEE, General."

"U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General."

"APRIL 9, 1865.

"GENERAL—I received your note of this morning, on the picket line, whither I had come to meet you, and ascertain definitely what terms were embraced in your proposal of yesterday, with reference to the surrender of this army. I now ask an interview in accordance with the offer contained in your letter of yesterday, for that purpose.

"Lieutenant-General GRANT."

"R. E. LEE,
General."

"APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE, VA., April 9, 1865.

"GENERAL—In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to-wit: Rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate, one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the government of the United States until properly exchanged; and each company or regimental commander sign a like parole for the men of their commands. The arms, artillery, and public property to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by the United States' authority as long as they observe their paroles and the laws in force where they may reside.

"General R. E. LEE."

"U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General."

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,

"April 9, 1865.

"GENERAL—I received your letter of this date containing the terms of the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, as proposed by you. As they are substantially

the same as those expressed in your letter of the 8th instant, they are accepted. I will proceed to designate the proper officers to carry the stipulations into effect.

"R. E. LEE,
"Lieutenant-General GRANT." "General."

General Grant closed his final report on the conduct of the war, in these words:

"It has been my fortune to see the armies of both the West and East fight battles, and from what I have seen I know there is no difference in their fighting qualities. All that it was possible for men to do in battle, they have done. The Western armies commenced their battles in the Mississippi Valley, and received the final surrender of the remnant of the principal army opposed to them in North Carolina. The armies of the East commenced their battles on the river from which the Army of the Potomac derived its name, and received the final surrender of their old antagonist at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. The splendid achievements of each have nationalized our victories, removed all sectional jealousies (of which we have unfortunately experienced too much), and the cause of crimination and recrimination that might have followed, had either section failed in its duty. All have a proud record, and all sections can well congratulate themselves and each other for having done their full share in restoring the supremacy of law over every foot of territory belonging to the United States. Let them hope for perpetual peace and harmony with that enemy whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such herculean deeds of valor."

AN INSULT TO THE NATION AND THE PRESIDENT.

During President Grant's second administration, there was a concerted effort upon the part of his personal and political enemies to bring his name into utter disgrace. We refer to the sad spectacle of a causeless attempt to connect the name of this grand man and great soldier, criminally with the whisky-frauds of the country. In 1875, when the great frauds of the Whisky Ring of the United States culminated in a complete expose, men very close to the administration of President Grant, and high in

authority, were arrested and tried as conspirators in the crimes committed by that ring, and a few men in the country hoped it would be shown in the investigation that followed that the President himself would be found to be connected in some way with the frauds which would result in his impeachment; but no sooner had the designs of his enemies been made known to him, than this brave, silent man sent forth the official direction that there should be the most thorough investigation of the charges against the men who had been implicated in the whisky-frauds, and to let no guilty man escape, no matter how close he might claim to be to the administration. The trial of these men, as most of our readers know, was of the most searching character, and while the guilty were punished, it was evident that President Grant had been made the subject of the most wicked and foul conspiracy that had ever been attempted upon mortal man, in the very house of his friends; but he came out of the trying ordeal like pure gold, and the verdict of the people of the whole country was that he was as innocent of any connection with the infamy of that ring as the unborn babe. But slander loves a shining mark. Gen. Grant had retired from the presidency, had traveled around the world, and had been received by the people and governments of foreign climes with far more distinction than any citizen of this country who had ever traveled abroad. In his absence, and without consulting his wishes, his warm political friends conceived the idea that it would be a fitting tribute to the eminent services of the distinguished soldier-citizen to again make him President of the United States, and then it was that slander raised for the second time its hydra-head. John McDonald, who had been severely punished for his connection with the whisky-frauds, lent himself to certain political leaders in an attempt to break down the character of Gen. Grant by resuscitating the whisky trials

of St. Louis, into popular book form; and J. W. Buel, a facile and pleasing writer, was employed to do the work, which he did with a master hand, but utterly regardless of the truth of history or the consequences to follow. But to the consternation of the political leaders engaged in Mr. McDonald's infamous book enterprise, Gen. Grant did not receive the Republican nomination for President; and although the advent of the book had been extensively advertised in all the leading Democratic journals of the country, and in many of the Republican papers whose editors were opposed to his nomination for a third term, by the publication of liberal extracts from the most striking features of its pages, it came forth stillborn, and the dastardly slander, intended to destroy the good name of the man who had done so much for his country upon the field of carnage, and won for it imperishable honors abroad, went out like a spark in the ocean. But we can imagine nothing so debased in the scale of infamy as an attempt to destroy the good name of such a man, a man who came from the private walks of life in 1861, and modestly offered himself to the Governor of Illinois as a defender of his country; a man who advanced from a clerkship in the Adjutant General's office in his State to the proudest position in the military arm of his Government; a man who advanced to the highest and most exalted civil station within the gift of the people, simply by the force of his own manly moral character, and without asking or seeking the advancement; a man whose hands were known to be free from the spoils of office, to be charged with or suspected of such corruption, is an insult to him and his country, for which there can be no adequate atonement. God has not allotted to man a life long enough to atone for such an offense; for such an indignity; for such a crime.

CHAPTER XLI.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1881.

Governor—Shelby M. Cullom.

Lieutenant-Governor—John M. Hamilton.

Secretary of State—Henry D. Dement.

Auditor of Public Accounts—Chas. P. Swigert.

Treasurer—Edward Rutz.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—James P. Slade.

Attorney-General—James McCartney.

THIRTY-SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Thirty-second General Assembly convened January 5, and adjourned May 30, *sine die*. It was composed of the following members.

SENATE.

Geo. E. White, Chicago.

L. D. Condee, Chicago.

Sylvester Artley, Chicago.

Chris. Mamer, Chicago.

Fred. C. DeLang, Chicago.

Geo. E. Adams, Chicago.

W. J. Campbell, Chicago.

George Kirk, Waukegan.

Chas. E. Fuller, Belvidere.

D. H. Sunderland, Freeport.

Charles Bent, Morrison.

Isaac Rice, Mt. Morris.

J. R. Marshall, Yorkville.

Henry H. Evans, Aurora.

S. W. Munn, Joliet.

Conrad Secrest, Watseka.

Sam'l R. Lewis, Ottawa.

Geo. Torrance, Chatsworth.

L. D. Whiting, Tiskilwa.

Thomas. M. Shaw, Lacon.

Milton M. Ford, Galva.

A. W. Berggren, Galesburg.

Wm. H. Neece, Macomb.

John Fletcher, Carthage.

Meredith Walker, Canton.

Andrew J. Bell, Peoria.

Abram Mayfield, Lincoln.

Jos. W. Fifer, Bloomington.

Wm. T. Moffett, Decatur.

Jas. S. Wright, Champaign.

George Hunt, Paris.

Horace S. Clark, Mattoon.

E. N. Rinehart, Effingham.

W. T. Vandeveer, Taylorville.

Wm. E. Shutt, Springfield.

Ed. Laning, Petersburg.

Maurice Kelly, Liberty.

Wm. R. Archer, Pittsfield.

W. P. Callon, Jacksonville.

C. A. Walker, Carlinville.

A. J. Parkinson, Highland.

T. B. Needles, Nashville.

Thos. E. Merritt, Salem.	Louis Ihorn, Harrisonville.
John R. Tanner, Louisville.	John Thomas, Belleville.
Wm. C. Wilson, Robinson.	W. A. Lemma, Carbondale.
J.C. Edwards, McLeansboro.	A. J. Kuykendall, Vienna.
S. L. Cheaney, Harrisburg.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

David Sullivan, Chicago.	John Clark, Somonauk.
Addis L. Rockwell, Chicago.	Oliver P. Chisholm, Elgin.
M. R. Harris, Chicago,	Jas. Herrington, Geneva.
John R. Cook, Chicago.	Jas. G. Wright, Naperville.
Randall H. White, Chicago.	E. B. Shumway, Peotone.
Orrin S. Cook, Chicago.	Michael Collins, Peotone.
Thomas Cloonan, Chicago.	Harvey Stratton, Plainfield.
George W. Kroll, Chicago.	Geo. B. Winter, Onarga.
Jos. R. Gorman, Chicago.	James Chatfield, Momence.
P. J. McMahon, Chicago.	Edward Rumley, Gilman.
John L. Parish, Chicago.	Alex. Vaughey, Seneca.
Robert N. Pierson, Chicago.	Isaac Ames, Streator.
Wm. A. Phelps, Chicago.	F. M. Robinson, Seneca.
Thos. H. McKone, Chicago.	J. H. Collier, Gibson City.
S. D. Mieroslawski, Chicago.	A. H. Goodspeed, Odell.
Austin O. Sexton, Chicago.	Leander L. Green, Odell.
Horace H. Thomas, Chicago.	John H. Welsh, Tiskilwa.
Nathan Plotke, Chicago.	S. F. Otman, Wyoming.
Geo. G. Struckman, Elgin.	Charles Baldwin, Princeton.
L. C. Collins, Jr., Chicago.	Euclid Martin, Minonk.
B. F. Weber, Chicago.	C. Stowell, LaPrairie Centre.
Orson C. Diggins, Harvard.	Jas. T. Thornton, Magnolia.
Jas. Thompson, Harvard.	A. R. Mock, Cambridge.
James Pollock, Millburn.	J. W. Simonson, Port Byron.
Ed. B. Sumner, Rockford.	Patrick O'Mara, Rock Island.
O. H. Wright, Belvidere,	Martin A. Boyd, Aledo.
L. McDonald, Pecatonica.	A. P. Petrie, New Windsor.
William Cox, Winslow.	Hannibal. P. Wood, Wataga.
E. L. Cronkrite, Freeport.	Wm. C. McLeod, Macomb.
James Bayne, Warren.	S. B. Davis, Blandinville.
Wm. H. Allen, Erie.	Daniel D. Parry, Monmouth.
Emanuel Stover, Lanark.	R. A. McKinley, Biggsville.
Henry Bitner, Mt. Carroll.	H. M. Whiteman, Biggsville.
Frank N. Tice, Forreston.	James Peterson, Oquawka.
Alex. P. Dysart, Nachusa.	Joseph L. McCune, Ipava.
A. F. Brown, Stillman Valley.	Wm. C. Reno, Browning.
Henry Wood, Sycamore.	Inmon Blackaby, Civer.
Hiram Loucks, Somonauk.	Jos. Gallup, Lawn Ridge.

David Heryer, Brimfield.	Oliver Coulter, Lynnville.
J. M. Nichaus, Peoria.	Joseph S. Carr, Kane.
John H. Crandall, Morton.	Balfour Cowen, Virden.
W. B. Harvey, Washington.	J. N. English, Sr., Jerseyv'lle.
Allen Lucas, Mt. Pulaski.	A. N. Yancy, Bunker Hill.
William Hill, Bloomington.	Henry O. Billings, Alton.
Geo. B. Okeson, Lexington.	John M. Pearson, Godfrey.
T. F. Mitchell, Bloomington.	Jones Tontz, Grant Fork.
L. Ludington, Farmer City.	Fred. Becker, Germantown.
Jason Rogers, Decatur.	John L. Nichols, Clement.
B. K. Durfee, Decatur.	E. H. Simmons, Greenville.
Chas. F. Tenney, Bement.	Iverson M. Little, Vera.
Ashbel H. Bailey, Rantoul.	D. W. Andrews, Centralia.
H. D. Peters, Monticello.	Mancil A. Harris, Ramsey.
Joseph B. Mann, Danville.	Nathan Crews, Fairfield.
Bradley Butterfield, Rankin.	James Keen, Six Mile.
John G. Holden, Danville.	Ezra B. Keene, Keensburg.
Thomas E. Bundy, Tuscola.	Jacob C. Olwin, Robinson.
J. W. R. Morgan, Sullivan.	James C. Bryan, Marshall.
Eugene B. Buck, Charleston.	W. H. H. Mieure, L'wr'ncev'lle
Geo. D. Chafee, Shelbyville.	C. T. Strattan, Mt. Vernon.
A. C. Campbell, Moweaqua.	Samuel M. Martin, Carmi.
F. M. Richardson, Neoga.	R. A. D. Wilbanks, Mt. V'r'n'n.
R. McWilliams, Litchfield.	Milo Erwiu, Crab Orchard.
Geo. R. Sharp, Sharpsburg.	F. M. Youngblood, Benton.
Geo. W. Paisley, Hillsboro.	Jas. M. Gregg, Harrisburg.
A. N. J. Crook, Springfield.	Isaac M. Kelly, DuQuoin.
DeWitt W. Smith, Bates.	W. K. Murphy, Pinckneyv'lle.
Jas. M. Garland, Springfield.	Austin James, Mitchie.
L. C. Chandler, Chandlerv'lle.	John N. Perrin, Belleville.
Wm. M. Duffy, San Jose.	P. H. Postel, M'scoutah.
J. H. Shaw, Beardstown.	Joseph Veile, Millstadt.
Joseph N. Carter, Quincy.	Harmon H. Black, Cairo.
John McAdams, Ursa.	David T. Linegar, Cairo.
Wm. A. Richardson, Quincy.	H. R. Buckingham, Alto Pass.
J. L. Underwood, Barry.	William A. Spann, Vienna.
Wm. Mortland, Hardin.	W. S. Morris, Elizabethtown.
S. R. Powell, Winchester.	John D. Young, Pella.
Ornan Pierson, Carrollton.	

Lieutenant-Governor John M. Hamilton presided over the Senate. William J. Campbell, of Cook, was elected President *pro tempore*, over Wm. P. Callon, of Morgan, by a vote of 33 to 28, and James H. Paddock, Secretary, over T. W. S. Kidd, by a vote of 35 to 16.

In the House, Horace H. Thomas, of Cook, was elected Speaker over Bradford K. Durfee, of Macon, by a vote of 81 to 71, and W. B. Taylor, of Marshall, Clerk, over Will A. Connelly, of Sangamon, by a vote of 81 to 71.

The message of the Governor was read in the two houses on the 7th of January. The Canal, Illinois National Guard, Agriculture, State Board of Health, Charitable Institutions, Apportionment, State Library, Douglas Monument, and Revenue, were subjects which were discussed at some length, and the usual recommendations as to proper subjects of legislation were indulged in.

Exclusive of the appropriation acts, laws were passed to prevent the spread of pleuro-pneumonia among cattle; to amend an act to consolidate the offices of county treasurer and county assessor; to regulate the traffic in deadly weapons and prevent their sale to minors; to prevent the adulteration of butter and cheese; to prevent the adulteration of articles of food, drink or medicine; to fix the times of election of county officers and their tenure; to amend the insurance laws; to define legal holidays; to regulate the practice of pharmacy; to require officers having in their custody public funds to prepare and publish annual statements of the receipts and disbursements; to amend the revenue law; to amend the school law; to secure equality in the matter of admitting patients into hospitals for the insane, and to provide for the transfer of patients from one hospital to another.

SPECIAL SESSION.

The Governor convened this General Assembly in special session March 23, 1882, for the purpose of passing laws apportioning the State into Congressional and Senatorial districts, and for other purposes. The duration of this session was 44 days.

CHAPTER XLII.

O. H. BROWNING.

Unpublished Correspondence between Browning and Lincoln—Browning's Personal Friendship for Lincoln, and his Absolute Loyalty to his Government.

When Senator Douglas died, the Democracy made an effort to have W. A. Richardson, then a member of Congress from the Quincy district, appointed to succeed him, but Governor Yates chose to fill the vacancy by the selection of O. H. Browning, of the same city, and the wisdom of the choice was soon made apparent, for Richardson came out as an anti-war man, while Browning never wavered for a moment in loyalty to his country's flag, but if anything, he was somewhat in advance of the President upon the question of freeing the slaves, for when the proclamation of Gen. Fremont, in Missouri, in 1861, which declared the slaves of disloyal men free, was revoked, Mr. Browning was deeply concerned over the matter, and wrote Mr. Lincoln an earnest letter protesting against his action, and because of this Mr. Browning was charged with giving Mr. Lincoln only a half-hearted support in his efforts to overthrow armed treason; and the great injustice was never broadly denied until after his death, and this was on the occasion of the memorial address of Judge C. B. Lawrence before the Illinois Bar Association, at Springfield, in January, 1882, when he read the reply of the President to that letter, and Mr. Browning's reply, which had not before been made public. We reproduce Mr.



MR. OTTO HENRY BROWNING

Very truly yours
Ott Browning

Lincoln's letter in full, and Mr. Browning's reply, omitting that portion of it which discusses the merits of the case, which can have no interest at this time:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, September 22, 1861.

"Hon. O. H. BROWNING:

"*My Dear Sir*—Yours of the 17th is just received, and, coming from you, I confess it astonishes me. That you should object to my adhering to a law which you had assisted in making, and presenting to me, less than a month before, is odd enough. But this is a very small part. General Fremont's proclamation, as to confiscation of property, and the liberation of slaves, is *purely political*, and not within the range of military law or necessity. If a commanding General finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner; for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs, forever, and this, as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the General needs them, he can seize them and use them, but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future condition. That must be settled according to the laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation, in the point in question, is simply 'dictatorship.' It assumes that the General may do *any* thing he pleases, confiscate the lands and free the slaves of *loyal* people, as well as disloyal ones. And going the whole figure, I have no doubt, would be more popular with some thoughtless people, than that which has been done. But I cannot assume this reckless position; nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility.

"You speak of it as being the only means of saving the Government. On the contrary, it is the surrender of the Government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the Government of the United States—any Government of Constitution and Laws—wherein a General or a President may make permanent rules of property by proclamation.

"I do not say Congress might not, with propriety, pass a law on the point just such as Gen. Fremont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to is that I, as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the Government.

"So much as to principle. Now as to policy. No doubt the thing was popular in some quarters, and would have been more so if it had been a general declaration of emancipation. The Kentucky Legislature would not budge till that proclamation was modified, and Gen. Anderson telegraphed me that on the news of Gen. Fremont having actually issued deeds of manumission, a whole company of volunteers threw down their arms and disbanded. I was so assured as to think it probable that the very arms we had furnished Kentucky would be turned against us. I think to lose Kentucky is nearly the same as to lose the whole game. Kentucky gone, we cannot hold Missouri, nor, as I think, Maryland. These all against us, and the job on our hands is too much for us. We might as well consent to separation at once, including the surrender of this capital. On the contrary, if you will give up your restlessness for new positions, and back me manfully on the grounds upon which you and other kind friends gave me the election, and have approved in my public documents, we shall go through triumphantly.

"You must not understand I took my course on the proclamation *because* of Kentucky. I took the same ground in a private letter to Gen. Fremont before I heard from Kentucky. You think I am inconsistent because I did not also forbid Gen. Fremont to shoot men under the proclamation.

"I understand that part to be within military law, but I also think, and so privately wrote Gen. Fremont, that it is impolitic in this, that our adversaries have the power, and will certainly exercise it, to shoot as many of our men as we shoot of theirs. I did not say this in the public letter, because it is a subject I prefer not to discuss in the hearing of our enemies.

"There has been no thought of removing Gen. Fremont on any grounds connected with this proclamation; and if there has been any wish for his removal on any ground, our mutual friend, Samuel Glover, can probably tell you what it was. I hope no real necessity for it exists on any ground.

"Your friend as ever,
"A. LINCOLN."

MR. BROWNING'S REPLY.

"QUINCY, ILL., Sept. 30, 1861.

"*Mr. President*—Yours of the 22d inst. is before me. Fully aware of the multitude and magnitude of your engagements, I certainly did not expect a moment of your valuable time to be consumed in replying to any communication of mine, but am very greatly obliged to you for having done so.

"Occasionally, since the beginning of our troubles, I have taken the liberty of writing you and giving my opinions, valueless as they may be, upon the great questions which agitate the nation, and which we are bound, however difficult and distressing they may be, in some way or other to solve. I have also, from time to time, endeavored to give you a true reflection of public sentiment, so far as it was known to me. I have been prompted to this course by a very sincere interest in your individual welfare, fame and fortune, as well as by a painfully intense anxiety for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union, the restoration of the just authority of the Government, and the triumph of as holy a cause, in my judgment, as ever interested men's feelings, and enlisted their energies.

"I thought that whether the public sentiment here and my own opinions accorded with yours or not, you might still be not only willing but glad to know them. I have, therefore, written to you frankly and candidly, but have at all times intended to be both kind and respectful, and I regret it deeply if I have failed in either, as some passages in yours lead me to suspect I have only annoyed you. Nothing, I assure you, has been further from my purpose. Fully appreciating the difficulties and embarrassments of your position, I would be as ready and willing to aid you by any personal sacrifice I could make, as I would be reluctant to add to your harassments, either by fault-finding or by solicitations. I have said many things to you which I have not said to others. Conscious of the great injury our cause would sustain by any weakening of the confidence of the people in the administration, I have constantly vindicated both its men and its measures before the public, and when I have had complaints or suggestions to make in regard to either, I have made them directly to you. Others have not known of them. This, I thought, was demanded alike by the claims of friendship and patriotism.

"What I said in regard to Gen. Fremont and his proclamation, was in accordance with this feeling. My acquaintance with him has been very limited, and I have had no personal feeling in this matter. If he was honestly and faithfully doing his duty, justice to him and regard for his country alike required that he should be sustained. There was much complaint and clamor against him, and as I am not quick to take up evil report, I went twice to St. Louis to see and learn for myself all that I could. It is very probable he has made some mistakes, but in the main he seemed to be taking his measures wisely and well. Many of the charges against him appeared to me frivolous, and I did not know of any one who could take his position and do better amid the surrounding difficulties, and was confident his removal at the time and under the circumstances, would be damaging both to the administration and the cause. Hence I wrote you, as I thought it my duty to do, certainly not intending any impertinent interference with executive duties, or expecting what I said to have any greater scope than friendly suggestion. . . .

"And now, Mr. President, permit me in conclusion to say, in all kindness, that I am not conscious of any 'restlessness for new positions.' New positions for us are not necessary. A firm adherence to old ones is, and this I am sure you intend.

"Thus far I have tried to 'back you manfully, upon the grounds upon which you had your election.'

"It may be that I have done it feebly, but certainly honestly and earnestly; and I shall be one of the last to falter in support of either our principles or their chosen exponent.

"And I am very sure that neither for yourself nor for the country, do you more ardently desire that 'we shall go through triumphantly,' than does your very sincere and faithful friend,

O. H. BROWNING."

This correspondence cannot fail to demonstrate two things, which have not been before well settled in the minds of those who have been given to look through the vision of prejudice. It shows that, whatever may have been the opinion of Mr. Lincoln's enemies, the abolition of slavery was not the paramount idea of his nature, but that he wished to preserve the Union, and leave the question of slavery to adjust itself, as circumstances might

direct. The other thing made plain is, that Mr. Browning was never wanting in a proper regard for Mr. Lincoln, or in devotion to the union of the States.

In justification of what we have said regarding the loyalty of Mr. Browning to the administration of Mr. Lincoln, we point to the following extract from a speech made by him in the Senate of the United States just prior to the resignation of all the Southern Senators:

"I say it with no passion, Mr. President, but I do say, and I think I say it for the entire country, that any man or set of men, here or elsewhere, who delude themselves with the idea that there is to be now, or at any time hereafter, any sort or character of compromise patched up with treason, by which the war is to be brought to a close, are fatally deceiving themselves. Mr. President, no terms can be made now or hereafter. Let the consequences of the war be what they may, no terms, now or at any time hereafter, can be made with treason and rebellion. There are but two alternatives. One is that this Government shall be overthrown and that all hope for Constitutional Government shall go down; and the other is that rebellion shall be subdued, shall be subjugated, that treason shall be punished, and this Government founded upon a rock, firmer, faster than it has hitherto been, and upon which hereafter all the tempests of insurrection and discontent shall beat in vain."

After the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, President Johnson appointed Mr. Browning Secretary of the Interior, the duties of which he discharged with an ability which did honor to his name and an integrity that was never questioned. The troubles which environed the administration of Mr. Johnson, and the attempt made to remove him by impeachment, estranged Mr. Browning from his old party associates, and he ceased to act with the Republican party.

Mr. Browning was by birth a Kentuckian, removing to Illinois in 1830, locating at Quincy, where he continued to reside so long as he lived. He was originally a Whig, and living in a strong Democratic district, naturally held

but few public trusts. He was elected a Senator in the tenth General Assembly, in 1836, and opposed the wild legislation on the question of internal improvements of that time. In 1843, he was induced to run for Congress against Stephen A. Douglas, but owing to the large Democratic majority in the district failed of an election; and his appointment as the successor of Douglas in the United States Senate was his next appearance as a public man. After his retirement from Johnson's cabinet, in 1869, he was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention which framed our present Constitution, and to him is due many of its wise and excellent provisions.

Mr. Browning died in August, 1881, in the 75th year of his age, and, in closing his admirable address, Mr. Lawrence paid this happy and fitting tribute to his memory:

"The announcement of his death came to the beautiful city where he had lived so long, and which he loved so well, like a fearful blow. Its most honored citizen had gone. For fifty years he had been their trusted leader and adviser. For fifty years he had lived among them a life which made no man his foe, but all men his friends. For fifty years they had listened to his eloquent utterances in the courts of justice and on the public platform, in times of trouble or when the country was in danger, and they had always gained strength and courage from his lips. For fifty years he had spoken to them words of wisdom, deepening their convictions as to the demands of patriotism and public duty. For fifty years he had dared to tell them the truth, or what he believed to be the truth, even when he knew it would cause a fleeting cloud between himself and them. For fifty years he had set them the example of a noble life. Little wonder that the town mourned.

"The funeral day was appointed. Friends, from far and near, came to render their last tribute of respect, and we felt, as we laid him away in the sunset of a summer day, in a beautiful cemetery on the banks of the Mississippi, beneath the shadows of the silent oaks, that a great brain and a great heart had done their work, and another tie between ourselves and life was broken."

CHAPTER XLIII.

STATE CAMPAIGN OF 1882.

The campaign of 1882 was what is commonly denominated the "off year," and party lines were not so closely drawn as in the Presidential years. The Republicans nominated John C. Smith for Treasurer, and Charles T. Strattan for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Democrats nominated Alfred Orendorff for Treasurer, and Henry Raab for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Prohibitionists nominated John G. Irwin for Treasurer, and Elizabeth B. Brown for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Greenbackers nominated Daniel McLaughlin for Treasurer, and Frank H. Hall for Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The aggregate vote of the respective candidates, as shown by the canvass made by the General Assembly, was:

Smith.....	250,722
Orendorff.....	244,585
McLaughlin.....	15,511
Irwin.....	11,130
Smith's plurality.....	6,137
Strattan.....	250,276
Raab.....	253,145
Hall.....	14,306
Brown.....	11,202
Raab's plurality.....	2,869

Although Mr. Smith was elected by a plurality of 6,137, the Democratic candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction was elected over Mr. Strattan by a plurality of 2,869. There were three causes which contributed to the defeat of Mr. Strattan. He had been a minority member of the Thirty-second General Assembly, and had voted in favor of a bill in which it was proposed to submit to a vote of the people an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the manufacture or sale of spirituous or malt liquors as a beverage. This he had a right to do, but it lost him the vote of many German Republicans. While on the other hand the Prohibition Republicans were displeased because the Republican State Convention had voted down a resolution which proposed to allow the people to vote on the question of amending the Constitution, as hereinbefore expressed, and they voted for Mrs. Brown, as a matter of principle, utterly regardless as to what might be the result of the election. The third and last cause was, that very many Republicans who were identified with the school interests, assumed that Mr. Strattan had not been sufficiently associated with the school work, and a large per cent. of them voted for Mr. Raab, who was known to have made education his study and practice; and when Mr. Raab was inducted into office he recognized the fact that it had not been a party victory by appointing W. L. Pillsbury, a Republican, his assistant. Mr. Pillsbury had held the position under Superintendent Slade, and whatever may have been the party prejudice to his selection, we doubt if Mr. Raab could have made a more fitting appointment.

The aggregate vote for Congressmen, by districts, is as follows:

MEMBERS OF CONGRESS—FIRST DISTRICT.

Ransom W. Dunham, R.....	11,571
John W. Doane, D.....	10,534
Alonzo J. Glover.....	644

SECOND DISTRICT.

John F. Finerty, D.....	9,360
Henry F. Sheridan.....	6,939
J. Altpeter.....	189
Sylvester Artley	180

THIRD DISTRICT.

George R. Davis, R.....	12,511
William P. Black.....	10,274
Caleb G. Hayman.....	748
Q. A. Sprague.....	3

FOURTH DISTRICT.

George E. Adams, R.....	11,686
Lambert Tree	9,446
Frank P. Crandon.....	663
Christian Meyer.....	128

FIFTH DISTRICT.

Reuben Ellwood, R.....	12,994
William Price.....	5,127
B. N. Dean.....	268

SIXTH DISTRICT.

Robert R. Hitt, R.....	12,725
James S. Ticknor.....	9,045
George W. Curtis.....	354
B. F. Sheets.....	6

SEVENTH DISTRICT.

Thomas J. Henderson, R.....	12,751
Larmon G. Johnson	6,369
M. B. Lloyd.....	1,678
L. G. Morrison.....	57

EIGHTH DISTRICT.

William Cullen, R.....	13,851
Patrick C. Haley.....	13,673
Lewis Steward.....	917
Otis Hardy.....	1,017
T. W. Baird.....	41

NINTH DISTRICT.

Lewis E. Payson, R.....	12,619
E. B. Buck	9,243
O. W. Barnard	2,138
Joseph M. McCullough	87

TENTH DISTRICT.

Nicholas E. Worthington, D	13,571
John H. Lewis, R.....	13,180
Matthew H. Mitchell	1,835

ELEVENTH DISTRICT.

William H. Neece, D.....	14,604
Benjamin F. Marsh, R.....	13,975
Richard Haney	3,671

TWELFTH DISTRICT.

James M. Riggs, D.....	15,816
James W. Singleton, Ind. D.....	11,782
Philip N. Minier, P	4,130

THIRTEENTH DISTRICT.

William M. Springer, D	18,360
Deitrich C. Smith, R.....	14,042
H. M. Miller.....	1,340

FOURTEENTH DISTRICT.

Jonathan H. Rowell, R	15,273
Adlai E. Stevenson, D.....	14,598
David H. Harts, Ind. R	1,414

FIFTEENTH DISTRICT.

Joseph G. Cannon, R.....	15,868
Andrew J. Hunter, D.....	14,651
John C. Barnes.....	536

SIXTEENTH DISTRICT.

Aaron Shaw, D	14,557
E. B. Green, R.....	13,689
Daniel B. Tourney	741

SEVENTEENTH DISTRICT.

Samuel W. Moulton, D.....	14,495
William H. Barlow, R.....	10,068
B. W. F. Corley.....	1,386

EIGHTEENTH DISTRICT.

William R. Morrison, D	14,906
W. C. Kueffner, R	12,561
Thomas W. Hynes, P.....	1,069

NINETEENTH DISTRICT.

Richard W. Townshend, D.....	15,606
George C. Ross, R.....	9,930

TWENTIETH DISTRICT.

John R. Thomas, R	14,504
William K. Murphy, D	14,113
J. F. McCartney, Ind	1,016
G. W. Curtis	22

CHAPTER XLIV.

OFFICIAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT IN 1880.

Vote of the States—Number of Electoral Votes of all the States in 1884—Official Vote of Illinois for President and State Officers, by Counties—Congressional Vote of the State, by Districts, for 1882—Official Vote of the Senatorial Districts, for 1880, in which Senatorial Elections Take Place in 1884.

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE OF 1880—ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1884.

The following table shows the result of the Presidential vote of all the States in 1880, and the number of electoral votes each State will be entitled to in 1884:

States.	Garfield—R.	Hancock—D.	Weaver—G.	Elec-		Electoral —1884.
				G.	H.	
Alabama.....	56,178	90,687	4,642	....	10	10
Arkansas.....	41,661	60,489	4,079	....	6	7
California.....	80,348	80,426	3,392	1	5	8
Colorado.....	27,450	24,647	1,485	3	....	3
Connecticut.....	67,073	64,417	263	6	....	6
Delaware.....	14,150	15,183	....	....	3	3
Florida.....	23,654	27,964	....	....	4	4
Georgia.....	52,648	102,522	481	....	11	12
Illinois.....	318,037	277,321	26,358	21	....	23
Indiana.....	232,164	225,528	12,986	15	....	15
Iowa.....	183,904	105,845	32,327	11	....	13
Kansas.....	121,520	59,789	19,710	5	....	9
Kentucky.....	104,550	147,999	11,498	....	12	13
Louisiana.....	31,891	65,310	....	....	8	8
Maine.....	74,039	65,171	4,408	7	....	6
Maryland.....	78,575	93,706	818	....	8	8
Massachusetts.....	165,205	111,960	4,548	13	....	14
Michigan.....	185,190	131,300	34,795	11	....	13
Minnesota.....	93,903	58,815	3,267	5	....	7
Mississippi.....	34,854	75,750	5,797	....	8	9
Missouri.....	153,567	208,600	35,045	....	15	16
Nebraska.....	54,979	28,523	3,853	3	....	5
Nevada.....	8,732	9,611	....	....	3	3
New Hampshire.....	44,852	40,794	528	5	....	4
New Jersey.....	120,555	122,565	2,617	....	9	9
New York.....	555,544	534,511	12,372	35	....	36
North Carolina.....	115,878	124,204	1,136	....	10	11
Ohio.....	375,048	340,821	6,456	22	....	23
Oregon.....	20,619	19,948	249	3	....	3
Pennsylvania.....	444,704	407,428	20,668	29	....	30
Rhode Island.....	18,195	10,779	236	4	....	4
South Carolina.....	58,071	112,312	566	....	7	9
Tennessee.....	107,677	128,191	5,916	....	12	12
Texas.....	57,845	156,228	27,405	....	8	13
Vermont.....	45,090	18,181	1,212	5	....	4
Virginia.....	84,020	127,976	139	....	11	12
West Virginia.....	46,213	57,391	9,079	....	5	6
Wisconsin.....	144,397	114,634	7,980	10	....	11
Total.....	4,442,950	4,442,035	306,867	214	155	401
Plurality.....	915	....	Majority	59	....	....

VOTE OF ILLINOIS.

The following table shows the official vote of Illinois for 1880, as printed and published under the authority of the Secretary of State. We give the vote by counties for President and for the three opposing candidates for Governor, and the aggregate vote of the candidates of the respective parties for all the State officers voted for at that

election,—the vote for President and Governor being deemed all the reader could desire for purposes of reference or comparison.

COUNTIES.	PRESIDENT.			GOVERNOR.		
	Garfield and Arthur.	Hancock and English.	Weaver and Chambers.	S. M. Cullom—R.	L. Trumbull—D.	A. J. Streeter—G.
Adams.....	4,987	6,113	608	4,969	6,103	619
Alexander.....	1,579	1,353	46	1,573	1,350	50
Bond.....	1,711	1,273	108	1,709	1,272	108
Boone.....	2,038	351	84	2,024	351	98
Brown.....	1,008	1,655	153	995	1,635	170
Bureau.....	4,099	2,655	329	4,062	2,638	380
Calhoun.....	505	946	22	493	956	23
Carroll.....	2,396	960	154	2,381	971	154
Cass.....	1,262	1,778	224	1,236	1,757	267
Champaign.....	4,720	3,472	566	4,093	3,480	588
Christian.....	2,687	3,446	194	2,701	3,325	195
Clark.....	1,999	2,374	337	2,021	2,362	337
Clay.....	1,555	1,660	185	1,550	1,655	146
Clinton.....	1,578	2,243	116	1,562	2,233	144
Coles.....	2,991	2,905	141	2,994	2,897	143
Cook.....	54,816	44,302	1,168	53,899	44,657	1,235
Crawford.....	1,541	1,917	24	1,540	1,920	23
Cumberland.....	1,365	1,563	92	1,366	1,570	85
DeKalb.....	4,124	1,578	104	4,103	1,588	121
DeWitt.....	2,011	1,845	108	2,010	1,837	182
Douglas.....	1,918	1,689	65	1,918	1,683	72
DuPage.....	2,827	1,229	16	2,822	1,238	18
Edgar.....	2,834	2,989	127	2,830	3,004	125
Edwards.....	1,777	575	10	1,176	578	10
Effingham.....	1,361	2,452	100	1,347	2,454	118
Fayette.....	2,136	2,633	207	2,132	2,626	207
Ford.....	1,857	780	455	1,792	724	590
Franklin.....	1,286	1,610	283	1,263	1,595	316
Fulton.....	4,168	4,718	553	4,127	4,698	559
Gallatin.....	1,050	1,574	20	1,052	1,567	18
Greene.....	1,865	3,160	49	1,871	3,143	50
Grundy.....	2,087	1,135	202	2,009	1,159	245
Hamilton.....	1,002	1,760	499	979	1,732	538
Hancock.....	3,610	3,957	274	3,602	3,954	284
Hardin.....	484	765	10	482	761	10
Henderson.....	1,279	923	152	1,266	878	209
Henry.....	4,469	2,061	730	4,400	1,897	966
Iroquois.....	4,128	2,738	443	4,103	2,667	537
Jackson.....	2,152	2,160	493	2,006	2,150	551
Jasper.....	1,194	1,761	88	1,195	1,741	94
Jefferson.....	1,700	2,304	311	1,703	2,302	312
Jersey.....	1,348	2,107	123	1,327	2,098	149
Jo Daviess.....	2,994	2,363	168	2,975	2,369	195
Johnson.....	1,521	893	170	1,513	875	191
Kane.....	6,180	2,831	410	6,111	2,845	425
Kankakee.....	3,201	1,640	107	3,194	1,638	114
Kendall.....	1,954	679	233	1,936	622	237
Knox.....	4,863	2,392	869	4,746	2,361	981
Lake.....	2,884	1,494	59	2,844	1,518	61
LaSalle.....	6,941	6,308	892	6,750	6,924	1,061
Lawrence.....	1,492	1,497	39	1,488	1,502	38

Official Vote—Continued.

COUNTIES.	PRESIDENT.			GOV. ENCL.		
	Garfield and Arthur.	Hancock and English.	Weaver and Chamberlain.	B. M. Gullion—R.	L. Trumbull—D.	A. J. Streeter—G.
Lee.....	3,369	2,242	196	3,354	2,232	26
Livingston.....	3,771	2,861	86	3,733	2,723	84
Logan.....	2,729	2,037	121	2,718	2,687	141
Macon.....	3,447	2,069	185	3,429	2,053	236
Macoupin.....	3,904	4,341	113	3,851	4,364	138
Madison.....	5,124	4,677	115	5,171	4,944	123
Marion.....	2,040	2,507	471	2,027	2,435	514
Marshall.....	1,684	1,603	107	1,667	1,616	105
Massac.....	1,616	1,926	148	1,609	1,915	106
Massac.....	1,484	778	14	1,489	778	15
McDonough.....	2,014	2,877	464	2,006	2,866	473
McHenry.....	3,516	1,799	194	3,507	1,806	210
McLean.....	7,317	5,292	817	7,319	5,284	273
Menard.....	991	1,473	470	949	1,432	529
Mercer.....	2,348	1,447	443	2,325	1,408	503
Monroe.....	1,172	1,712	.....	1,179	1,709	...
Montgomery.....	2,702	3,173	261	2,671	3,196	261
Morgan.....	3,199	3,452	297	3,178	3,447	311
Moultrie.....	1,234	1,523	197	1,217	1,542	213
Ogle.....	4,154	2,085	249	4,039	2,079	323
Peoria.....	5,106	5,705	720	5,014	5,739	722
Perry.....	1,261	1,629	64	1,225	1,546	96
Platt.....	1,836	1,578	156	1,807	1,564	153
Pike.....	2,964	2,812	77	2,935	2,756	524
Pope.....	1,561	914	89	1,566	894	54
Putinski.....	1,174	742	87	1,174	734	46
Putnam.....	704	503	2	715	497	3
Randolph.....	2,703	2,614	41	2,699	2,620	40
Richland.....	1,628	1,736	2	1,639	1,744	...
Buck Island.....	4,025	2,565	1,901	3,897	2,474	1,216
Saline.....	1,484	1,603	25	1,496	1,599	37
Sangamon.....	5,476	6,196	294	5,409	6,204	524
Sehuylor.....	1,520	1,937	69	1,517	1,914	78
Scott.....	1,435	1,249	120	1,031	1,266	156
Shelby.....	2,017	3,328	1,017	2,009	3,324	1,653
Stark.....	1,902	681	299	1,378	1,841	342
St. Clair.....	5,847	5,877	251	5,878	6,006	239
Stephenson.....	3,581	3,071	65	3,568	3,079	71
Tazewell.....	2,919	3,367	153	2,911	3,371	161
Union.....	1,130	2,264	30	1,141	2,261	10
Vermilion.....	4,962	5,431	451	4,974	5,438	458
Wabash.....	939	1,143	39	937	1,154	34
Warren.....	2,849	2,408	96	2,831	1,991	398
Washington.....	2,341	1,912	41	2,262	1,927	46
Wayne.....	2,063	2,294	159	2,046	2,192	190
White.....	1,811	2,591	205	1,811	2,592	274
Whiteside.....	3,918	2,215	403	3,890	2,141	530
Will.....	5,776	8,103	892	5,496	4,048	83
Williamson.....	1,843	1,925	141	1,845	1,811	161
Winnebago.....	4,612	1,511	274	4,513	1,500	306
Woodford.....	2,007	2,364	108	1,961	2,391	123
Total.....	318,837	277,321	26,356	314,595	277,592	26,895
Plurality.....	40,716	.....	.....	37,463	.....	.....

Total vote for J. M. Hamilton (R.), Lieutenant-Governor.....	317,160
Total vote for L. B. Parsons (D.), Lieutenant-Governor.....	275,966
Hamilton's plurality.....	41,194
Total vote for Andrew M. Adair (G.), Lieutenant-Governor	26,774
Total vote for H. D. Dement (R.), Secretary of State.....	317,423
Total vote for J. H. Oberly (D.), Secretary of State.....	277,092
Dement's plurality.....	40,331
Total vote for J. M. Thompson (G.), Secretary of State.....	26,687
Total vote for C. P. Swigert (R.), Auditor.....	317,872
Total vote for L. C. Starkel (D.), Auditor.....	276,440
Swigert's plurality	41,432
Total vote for M. F. Ingram (G.), Auditor.....	26,183
Total vote for Edward Rutz (R.), Treasurer.....	317,732
Total vote for T. Butterworth (D.), Treasurer.....	276,670
Rutz's plurality.....	41,061
Total vote for G. M. Evans (G.), Treasurer.....	26,658
Total vote for James McCartney (R.), Attorney-General.....	318,173
Total vote for L. Harmon (D.), Attorney-General.....	276,061
McCartney's plurality.....	42,112
Total vote for H. G. Whitlock (G.), Attorney-General.....	26,207

Uriah Copp received, for Governor, 122 votes.
 J. R. Lawrence received, for Lieutenant-Governor, 179 votes.
 Samuel Reed received, for Secretary of State, 118 votes.
 W. L. Cressey received, for Auditor of Public Accounts, 126 votes.
 George Harrington received, for Treasurer, 182 votes.
 Alexander B. Lee received, for Attorney-General, 129 votes.
 The highest Prohibition Elector received, in all, 443 votes.
 The highest Anti-Masonic Elector received, in all, 153 votes.

VOTE FOR CONGRESSMEN IN 1882.

The following tabular statement of the vote for Congressmen, in the several congressional districts, in 1882, is compiled from the official returns as printed and published by authority of the Secretary of State:

Dist.	Counties.	Candidates.		
		R. W. Dunham R.	J. W. Doane. D.	A. J. Grover. Ind.
1 Cook	11,571	10,534	644	
2 Cook	J. F. Finerty. Ind. D.	H. F. Sheridan D.	J. Altpeter. Ind.	S. Artley. Soc.
	9,360	6,939	189	180

Vote for Congressmen—Continued.

Dist.	Counties.	Candidates.			
		G. R. Davis. <i>R.</i>	W. P. Black. <i>D.</i>	C. G. Hayman <i>Soc.</i>	O. A. Sprague
3	Cook	12,511	10,274	748	3
4		G. E. Adams. <i>R.</i>	L. Tree. <i>D.</i>	F. P. Crandon <i>Pro.</i>	C. Meyer. <i>Soc.</i>
4	Cook	11,686	9,446	663	128
5		R. Ellwood. <i>R.</i>	W. Price. <i>D.</i>	B. N. Dean. <i>Pro.</i>	Scattering.
5	Lake	2,171	1,166	31	1
	McHenry	2,064	1,008	74	.....
	Boone	1,892	195	113	2
	DeKalb	2,747	853	17	.....
	Kane	4,120	1,905	31	13
	Total	12,994	5,127	268	16
6		R. R. Hitt. <i>R.</i>	J. S. Ticknor. <i>D.</i>	G. W. Curtis.	Scattering.
6	Winnebago	3,239	1,648	117	73
	Stephenson	2,763	2,752	9	30
	JoDavies	2,271	1,981	93	5
	Ogle	2,514	2,054	78	12
	Carroll	1,939	610	57	.....
	Total	12,726	9,045	354	120
7		T. J. Henderson. <i>R.</i>	L. G. Johnson. <i>D.</i>	M. B. Lloyd. <i>Pro.</i>	Scattering.
7	Lee	2,961	1,650	192	57
	Whiteside	3,049	1,118	274	10
	Henry	3,374	1,174	729	3
	Bureau	2,858	1,996	452	.....
	Putnam	509	431	26	.....
	Total	12,751	6,369	1,673	70
8		Wm. Cullen. <i>R.</i>	P. C. Haley. <i>D.</i>	L. Steward. <i>Gr.</i>	O. Hardy. <i>Pro.</i>
8	LaSalle	5,162	6,349	496	560
	Kendall	1,340	456	173	112
	Grundy	1,597	997	91	10
	Will	3,935	4,868	157	325
	DuPage	1,817	1,003	.....	10
	Total	13,851	13,673	917	1,017

Vote for Congressmen—Continued.

Dist.	Counties.	Candidates.			
		L. E. Payson. R.	E. B. Buck. D.	O. W. Barnard Gr.	Scattering.
9	Kankakee.....	2,125	1,166	340	.....
	Iroquois	2,860	1,973	517	.....
	Ford.....	1,391	575	344	1
	Livingston.....	3,211	1,888	798	.....
	Woodford.....	1,549	2,085	93	7
	Marshall	1,483	1,556	46	86
	Total	12,619	9,243	2,188	94
10		J. U. Lewis. R.	N. E. Worth- ington—D.	M. H. Mitchell Pro.	
	Peoria.....	4,702	6,311	330	.
	Knox	3,535	2,246	420	
	Stark.....	1,148	553	320	
	Fulton.....	3,795	4,461	265	
	Total	13,180	13,571	1,335	
11		B. F. Marsh. R.	W. H. Neece. D.	R. Haney. Pro.	Scattering.
	Rock Island....	3,122	2,182	1,479	1
	Mercer	1,848	1,251	385	.....
	Henderson	1,016	878	226	.....
	Warren	2,232	1,716	665	.....
	Hancock	2,160	3,911	961	.....
	McDonough	2,523	3,012	457	.....
	Schuylerville.....	1,074	1,654	98	.....
	Total	13,975	14,604	3,671	1
12		J. M. Singleton Ind. D.	J. M. Riggs. D.	P. N. Minier. Pro.	Scattering.
	Cass.....	289	1,926	371	.....
	Brown	678	1,147	485	.....
	Adams	5,714	2,546	1,248	1
	Pike.....	2,667	3,285	385	.....
	Scott	238	1,599	293	1
	Greene.....	1,141	2,479	878	.....
	Jersey.....	771	1,566	349	.....
	Calhoun.....	284	768	121	.....
	Total	11,782	15,316	4,130	2
13		W. M. Spring'r D.	D. C. Smith. R.	H. M. Miller. Pro.	Scattering.
	Tazewell.....	2,831	2,456	151	4
	Mason.....	1,764	1,435	251	.....
	Menard	1,504	796	477	.....
	Sangamon.....	6,004	4,432	.....	.....
	Morgan	3,494	3,064	193	.....
	Christian	2,763	2,159	268	.....
	Total	18,360	14,042	1,340	4

Vote for Congressmen—Continued.

Dist.	Counties.	Candidates.			
		A. E. Stevens'n <i>D.</i>	J. H. Bowell. <i>R.</i>	D. H. Harts. <i>Pro.</i>	Scattering.
14	McLean	5,162	5,976	647	1
	DeWitt.....	1,979	1,794	182	1
	Piatt.....	1,642	1,765	15	.....
	Macon.....	3,019	3,326	185	.....
	Logan.....	2,758	2,412	435	.....
	Total	14,598	15,273	1,414	2
15		J. G. Cannon. <i>R.</i>	A. J. Hunter. <i>D.</i>	J. C. Barnes. <i>Pro.</i>	
	Coles	2,862	2,950	82	
	Edgar.....	2,986	3,144	48	
	Douglas.....	1,715	1,657	64	
	Vermillion.....	4,474	3,639	163	
	Champaign.....	3,831	3,321	179	
	Total	15,868	14,651	596	
16		A. Shaw. <i>D.</i>	E. B. Green. <i>R.</i>	D. B. Turney <i>Pro.</i>	Scattering.
	Cumberland....	1,493	1,292	42	1
	Clark.....	2,206	1,954	237	.....
	Jasper	1,585	1,007	97	.....
	Crawford	1,419	1,384	11	.....
	Clay.....	1,540	1,511	33	.....
	Richland.....	1,615	1,515	.....	.....
	Lawrence.....	1,375	1,317	12	1
	Wayne.....	1,877	1,711	33	177
	Edwards.....	450	1,056	.....	.....
	Wabash.....	1,057	952	6	.....
	Total	14,557	13,689	471	179
17		S. W. Moulton <i>D.</i>	W. H. Barlow. <i>R.</i>	B. W. F. Corley <i>Pro.</i>	Scattering.
	Macoupin.....	4,168	3,677	45	1
	Montgomery ...	2,553	2,131	187	.....
	Shelby	2,588	1,077	925	2
	Moultrie	1,242	915	184	.....
	Effingham	1,837	696	95	2
	Fayette	2,107	1,572	.....	.....
	Total	14,495	10,068	1,386	5
18		W. C. Kueffner <i>R.</i>	W. R. Morris'n <i>D.</i>	T. W. Hynes. <i>Pro.</i>	Scattering.
	Bond	1,357	1,142	256	.....
	Madison	3,864	4,833	428	1
	St. Clair.....	4,761	5,210	242	.....
	Monroe	751	1,981	.....	.....
	Washington	1,828	1,740	143	.....
	Total	12,561	14,906	1,069	1

Vote for Congressmen—Continued.

Dist.	Counties.	Candidates.			
		R. W. Townshend—D.	G. C. Ross. R.	M. L. Drummond.	Scattering.
19	Marion	2,275	1,639	.....	.....
	Clinton	2,011	997	.....	.....
	Jefferson	1,970	1,297	.....	2
	Franklin	1,477	1,023	1	.....
	Hamilton	1,798	787	.....	.....
	White	2,329	1,370	.....	.....
	Raline	1,490	1,405	.....	.....
	Gallatin	1,555	966	.....	.....
	Hardin	701	446	.....	.....
	Total	15,606	9,930	1	2
20		W. K. Murphy D.	J. B. Thomas. R.	J. F. McCarty—Pro.	
	Perry	1,698	1,246	155	
	Randolph	2,348	2,312	96	
	Jackson	2,201	1,779	288	
	Williamson	1,693	1,749	107	
	Union	1,954	993	86	
	Johnson	767	1,393	155	
	Pope	795	1,390	7	
	Alexander	1,150	1,177	32	
	Pulaski	666	1,089	46	
	Massac	791	8,376	44	
	Total	14,113	14,504	1,016	

SENATORIAL DISTRICTS IN 1880.

Of the Senatorial districts which were formed under the apportionment act of 1882, and in which no election has taken place since for Senator, but which occurs in 1884, the vote of 1880 of the respective parties is given:

Districts.	R.	D.	G.
SECOND.			
Part of Cook	11,548	7,528	137
FOURTH.			
Part of Cook	9,234	6,650	140
SIXTH.			
Part of Cook	7,206	5,782	130

Senatorial Districts—Continued.

Districts.	R.	D.	G.
EIGHTH.			
Lake.....	2,884	1,494	59
McHenry.....	3,516	1,799	194
Boone.....	2,038	351	84
	8,438	3,644	337
TENTH.			
Winnebago.....	4,617	1,511	278
Ogle.....	4,054	2,083	249
	8,671	3,596	527
TWELFTH.			
Jo Daviess.....	2,994	2,363	168
Stephenson.....	3,581	3,071	65
Carroll.....	2,396	960	154
	8,871	6,394	387
FOURTEENTH.			
Kane.....	6,180	2,831	410
DuPage.....	2,327	1,229	16
	8,507	4,060	426
SIXTEENTH.			
Kankakee.....	3,201	1,640	107
Iroquois.....	4,128	2,738	443
	7,329	4,378	550
EIGHTEENTH.			
Livingston.....	3,771	2,861	865
Ford.....	1,857	780	455
	5,628	2,641	1,320
TWENTIETH.			
Marshall.....	1,684	1,603	107
Woodford.....	2,007	2,364	108
Tazewell.....	2,919	3,367	153
	6,610	7,334	368
TWENTY-SECOND.			
Knox.....	4,863	2,392	869
Fulton.....	4,168	4,718	553
	9,031	7,110	1,422
TWENTY-FOURTH.			
Hancock.....	3,610	3,957	274
Henderson.....	1,279	923	152
Mercer.....	2,348	1,487	448
	7,237	6,467	876
TWENTY-SIXTH.			
Peoria.....	5,105	5,705	720
TWENTY-EIGHTH.			
McLean.....	7,317	5,202	317

Senatorial Districts—Continued.

Districts.	R.	D.	G.
THIRTIETH.			
Champaign.....	4,720	3,472	566
Platt.....	1,855	1,578	156
DeWitt.....	2,011	1,845	168
	8,586	6,895	890
THIRTY-SECOND.			
Douglas.....	1,918	1,689	65
Coles.....	2,991	2,905	141
Cumberland.....	1,365	1,563	92
	6,279	6,157	298
THIRTY-FOURTH.			
Mason.....	1,616	1,926	148
Menard.....	994	1,473	470
Cass.....	1,262	1,778	224
Schuyler.....	1,520	1,937	69
	5,392	7,114	911
THIRTY-SIXTH.			
Brown.....	1,008	1,655	153
Pike.....	2,968	3,812	777
Calhoun.....	505	946	22
	4,481	6,413	952
THIRTY-EIGHTH.			
Macoupin.....	3,904	4,341	113
Morgan.....	3,199	3,452	297
	7,103	7,793	410
FORTIETH.			
Christian.....	2,687	3,346	194
Montgomery.....	2,702	3,173	201
	5,391	6,519	395
FORTY-SECOND.			
Bond.....	1,711	1,273	108
Clinton.....	1,578	2,242	116
Washington.....	2,280	1,912	44
	5,569	5,427	268
FORTY-FOURTH.			
Clay.....	1,555	1,660	135
Richland.....	1,628	1,736	2
Wayne.....	2,063	2,204	159
Edwards.....	1,177	575	10
	6,423	5,975	306
FORTY-SIXTH.			
Hamilton.....	1,002	1,760	499
White.....	1,811	2,591	265
Wabash.....	939	1,142	39
Lawrence.....	1,492	1,497	39
	5,244	6,990	842

Senatorial Districts—Continued.

Districts.	R.	D.	G.
FORTY-EIGHTH.			
Monroe.....	1,172	1,712	.....
Randolph.....	2,705	2,614	41
Perry.....	1,751	1,535	64
	<hr/> 5,628	<hr/> 5,861	<hr/> 105
FIFTIETH.			
Jackson.....	2,152	2,160	493
Union.....	1,139	2,264	10
Alexander.....	1,579	1,353	46
	<hr/> 4,860	<hr/> 5,777	<hr/> 549

Of the twenty-six hold-over Senators, there are fourteen Republicans and twelve Democrats.

CHAPTER XLV.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1883.

Governor—John M. Hamilton.

President *pro tem.* and acting Lieut.-Gov.—W. J. Campbell.

Secretary of State—H. D. Dement.

Auditor of Public Accounts—Chas. P. Swigert.

Treasurer—John C. Smith.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—Henry Raab.

Attorney General—James McCartney.

THIRTY-THIRD GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

The Thirty-third General Assembly convened January 3, and consisted of the following members:

SENATE.

George E. White, Chicago.	W. H. Ruger, Chicago.
L. D. Condee, Chicago.	George E. Adams, Chicago.
John H. Clough, Chicago.	W. J. Campbell, Chicago.
C. Mamer, Chicago.	George Kirk, Waukegan.

W. E. Mason, Chicago.	George Hunt, Paris.
Isaac Rice, Mount Morris.	H. S. Clark, Mattoon.
Thos. Cloonan, Chicago.	E. R. Rinehart, Effingham.
D. H. Sunderland, Freeport.	E. Laning, Petersburg.
Millard B. Hereley, Chicago.	M. Kelly, Liberty.
Henry H. Evans, Aurora.	Wm. R. Archer, Pittsfield.
E. B. Shumway, Peotone.	F. M. Bridges, Carrollton.
Conrad Secrest, Watseka.	C. A. Walker, Carlinville.
Lyman B. Ray, Morris.	L. F. Hamilton, Springfield.
Geo. Torrance, Pontiac.	W. T. Vandeveer, Taylorville
Wm. C. Snyder, Fulton.	D. B. Gillham, Upper Alton.
Thomas M. Shaw, Lacon.	Thos. B. Needles, Nashville.
H. A. Ainsworth, Moline.	Thomas E. Merritt, Salem.
A. W. Berggren, Galesburg.	J. R. Tanner, Louisville.
J. W. Duncan, Ottawa.	W. H. McNary, Martinsville.
John Fletcher, Carthage.	J. C. Edwards, McLeansboro
L. D. Whiting, Tiskilwa.	Henry Seiter, Lebanon.
Andrew J. Bell, Peoria.	Louis Ihorn, Harrisonville.
Henry Tubbs, Kirkwood.	Wm. S. Morris, Golconda.
J. W. Fifer Bloomington.	W. A. Lemma, Carbondale.
Jason Rogers, Decatur.	Daniel Hogan, Mound City.
J. S. Wright, Champaign.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

J. Fairbanks, Chicago.	Clayton E. Crafts, Chicago.
R. B. Kennedy, Chicago.	Chas. E. Fuller, Belvidere.
D. Sullivan, Chicago.	Chas. H. Tyron, Richmond.
W. H. Harper, Chicago.	E. M. Haines, Waukegan.
Hilon A. Parker, Chicago.	Julius Pedersen, Chicago.
E. J. Fellows, Chicago.	A. Wendell, Chicago.
J. W. E. Thomas, Chicago.	Mark J. Clinton, Chicago.
Thomas McNally, Chicago.	A. F. Brown, Stillman Vall'y.
Isaac Abrahams, Chicago.	Ed. B. Sumner, Rockford.
John L. Parrish, Chicago.	John C. Seyster, Oregon.
J. F. Lawrence, Chicago.	Jesse J. Rook, Chicago.
R. F. Sheridan, Chicago.	J. O'Shea, Chicago.
David W. Walsh, Chicago.	August Mette, Chicago.
James A. Taylor, Chicago.	G. L. Hoffman, Mt. Carroll.
Erwin E. Wood, Chicago.	J. A. Hammond, Hanover.
Edward D. Cooke, Chicago.	E. L. Cronkrite, Freeport.
Theo. Stimming, Chicago.	Peter Sundelius, Chicago.
Austin O. Sexton, Chicago.	Gregory A. Klupp, Chicago.
L. C. Collins, Jr., Chicago.	John F. Dugan, Chicago.
Geo. G. Struckman, Elgin.	Luther L. Hiatt, Wheaton.

Henry P. Walker, Hinsdale.	R. H. Templeman, Mt. P'l'ski.
James Herrington, Geneva.	Wm. F. Calhoun, Clinton.
George Bez, Wilmington.	James A. Hawks, Atwood.
John O'Connell, Joliet.	Wm. A. Day, Champaign.
James L. Owen, Frankfort.	Wm. J. Calhoun, Danville.
John H. Jones, Milford.	Robert B. Ray, Fairmount.
William S. Hawker, Salina.	E. R. E. Kimbrough, D'nvi'le
Daniel C. Taylor, Kankakee.	Joseph G. Ewing, Arcola.
Henry Wood, Sycamore.	Wm. H. DeBord, Greenup.
H. M. Boardman, Shabbona.	F. M. Richardson, Neoga.
Andrew Welch, Yorkville.	Charles L. Roane, Sullivan.
J. H. Collier, Gibson City.	Thos. N. Henry, Windsor.
A. G. Goodspeed, Odell.	John H. Baker, Sullivan.
Michael Cleary, Odell.	T. L. Mathews, Virginia.
Solomon H. Bethea, Dixon.	Wm. M. Duffy, San Jose.
John G. Manahan, Sterling.	H. C. Thompson, Virginia.
John B. Felker, Amboy.	Thos. G. Black, Clayton.
Revilo Newton, Minonk.	James E. Purnell, Quincy.
John H. Crandall, Morton.	J. E. Downing, Camp Point.
R. S. Hester, Belle Plain.	T. Worthington, Jr., Pittsfi'd.
Thos. Nowers, Jr., Atkinson.	J. W. Moore, Mound Station.
H. C. Cleaveland, R. Island.	F. M. Greathouse, Hardin.
Patrick O'Mara, R. Island.	J. H. Coats, Winchester.
Wm. H. Emerson, Astoria.	W. E. Carlin, Jerseyville.
A. S. Curtis, Oneida.	G. W. Murray, Winchester.
F. A. Willoughby, Galesburg.	I. L. Morrison, Jacksonville.
Wright Adams, Sheridan.	A. N. Yancey, Bunker Hill.
Alex. Vaughey, Seneca.	E. M. Kinman, Jacksonville.
Samuel C. Wiley, Earlville.	D. T. Littler, Springfield.
David Rankin, Biggsville.	B. F. Caldwell, Chatham.
J. M. Ansley, Swedonia.	G. W. Murray, Springfield.
John D. Stevens, Carthage.	E. E. Cowperthwait.
Jas. T. Thornton, Magnolia.	Geo. M. Stevens, Nokomis.
John Lackie, Osceola.	John B. Ricks, Taylorville.
John H. Welsh, Tiskilwa.	John M. Pearson, Godfrey.
Sam'l H. Thompson, Peoria.	Henry O. Billings, Alton.
Jos. Gallup, Lawn Ridge.	Robert D. Utiger, Alhambra.
Michael C. Quinn, Peoria.	John L. Nichols, Clement.
Isaac N. Pearson, Macomb.	F. E. W. Brink, Hoyleton.
C. M. Rogers, Monmouth.	Jas. M. Rountree, Nashville.
Isaac L. Pratt, Roseville.	Seth F. Crews, Mt. Vernon.
T. F. Mitchell, Bloomington.	G. H. Varnell, Mt. Vernon.
Lafayette Funk, Shirley.	J. D. Jennings, Beecher, City.
Simeon H. West, Leroy.	Henry Studer, Olney.
John H. Crocker, Maroa.	John S. Symonds, Flora.
John T. Foster, Elkhart.	Elbert Rowland, Olney.

J. M. Honey, Newton.	John Higgins, DuQuoin.
Grandison Clark, Newton.	R. W. McCartney, Metropolis.
Wm. Updyke, Robinson.	Wm. H. Boyer, Harrisburg.
Wm. H. Johnson, Carmi.	Jas. M. Gregg, Harrisburg.
Lowry Hay, Carmi.	J. M. Scurlock, Carbondale.
F. W. Cox, Bridgeport.	Sidney Grear, Jonesboro.
J. B. Messick, E. St. Louis.	David T. Linegar, Cairo.
Louis C. Starkel, Belleville.	Wm. W. Hoskinson, Benton.
M. A. Sullivan, E. St. Louis.	Milo Erwin, Marion.
J. R. McFie, Coulterville.	A. N. Lodge,* Marion.
Jas. F. Canniff, Waterloo.	Wm. A. Spann,† Johnson Co.

W. J. Campbell, of Cook, was elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate, over Thomas M. Shaw, of Marshall, by a vote of 23 to 15, and L. F. Watson, Secretary.

In the House, Lorin C. Collins, Jr., of Cook, was elected Speaker, over Austin O. Sexton, of Cook, by a vote of 78 to 75, and John A. Reeve, of Alexander, Clerk, over Wm. A. Connelly, by a vote of 77 to 75.

Gov. Cullom laid his message before the two houses on the 5th. It was an able and carefully prepared State paper, setting forth, in detail, all the needs and wants of the State. He recommended that section 16, of article 5 of the constitution be so amended as to give the Governor power to veto objectionable portions of appropriation bills, and earnestly recommended the revising of the criminal code.

One of the important duties of this General Assembly was the election of a United States Senator to succeed David Davis. On the 16th of January, the two houses voted separately on the question. In the Senate Shelby M. Cullom, the nominee of the Republican party, received 30 votes, and John M. Palmer, the nominee of the Democratic party, 20 votes. In the House Mr. Cullom received 75 votes, and Mr. Palmer 75. Three members of the House refrained from voting, hence there was no election, and on the 17th the two houses met in joint session and voted for United States Senator. Cullom received 107 votes,

* Seat contested by Spann.

† Admitted to Lodge's seat.

and Palmer 95. Mr. Cullom having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared, by the Speaker, the duly elected Senator.

On the 7th of February Shelby M. Cullom resigned the office of Governor, when Lieut.-Gov. Hamilton became Governor, and Wm. J. Campbell, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, acting Lieutenant-Governor.

Gov. Cullom retired from the office with a pleasing record. He had held the exalted trust for over six years, and while his duties, for the most part, were routine, yet there were times when his ability and courage were put to the severest test, and he was always equal to the emergency. During the great riot of the railroad employes in 1877—which was widespread in the East and the West—when the mob threatened to burn and pillage our great cities, the sagacity and promptness with which Gov. Cullom brought the military power of the State government into requisition, saved the State millions of dollars in property, preserved order, and prevented the shedding of innocent blood; and whenever and wherever mob-law raised its hydra-head, he was quick to put it down. The Southern Illinois Penitentiary, at Chester, was built during his administration, and it is regarded as the most modern and complete prison in all the States, for it so happens that it is the last one erected in the United States, and advantage was taken of all the modern improvements or appliances. The Insane Asylum at Kankakee was built during his administration, and it is also a modern and most desirable structure. The reorganization of the militia was a work of no little magnitude, and we doubt if there is a State in the Union which has so simple and yet so effective military system. In retiring, to assume other duties, he left the State entirely out of debt and in a most prosperous condition. During his administration there was paid \$1,455,000 of the old State debt.

None of Gov. Cullom's messages were partisan in character, but this extract from his second inaugural, delivered in January, 1881, is worthy of preservation in these pages, as it embodies some wholesome truths well and eloquently expressed :

" There are portions of Europe and Asia—say Southern Russia and parts of Asiatic Turkey—as blessed in soil and climate as Illinois, but the people are sunk in degradation and poverty, because their rulers, while imposing the severest burdens of taxation, give nothing in return—no roads—no schools—not even adequate protection to life and property.

" The people of those countries would say of us, that we pay no taxes at all, inasmuch as what we do pay is spent among ourselves, for our own good and by our own servants. If the same percentage of our able-bodied men were kept in idleness as a standing army, and proportionate amounts were spent upon fortifications and naval armaments, as by the States of Europe, we should see a very different condition of affairs in this country.

" Our people, intelligent men and women, have not only made our political institutions what they are, but they have shown themselves able and patriotic enough to defend and preserve them, as a matchless inheritance handed down to us by our fathers. For twenty years, the watchword of the people has been Liberty and Union ; and, under such inspiration, the Union has been saved, ideas in harmony with its perpetuity have been well grounded in the minds of the people, liberty has become universal, the National credit has been established, and confidence in republican government greatly strengthened in the minds of statesmen everywhere.

" The struggle which secured all these great blessings cost millions of money, and thousands of brave and patriotic lives ; and, as we recede from the period of the struggle, we must not forget the greatness of the sacrifices, nor those who made them. The deeds of heroism of the Union soldier of the late war should be remembered with gratitude, as long as history shall endure.

" The foundation of our political structure is the ballot. It is the expression of the divine right of the people to rule. It raises up men and parties, and casts them down. It is the fiat of power ; but to be valuable, and accomplish its true purpose and end, this voice of the people must be

fairly expressed. Founded on intelligence, it should be without coercion, bribery or intimidation; and thus cast, it should be honestly counted in determining results. These sentiments may appear familiar and trite, but they can not be too often repeated, and especially should those who, as servants of the people, have to perform legislative or executive functions, constantly remember that the chief end and aim of their service should be to preserve and transmit our free institutions, which can only be done when the will of an intelligent people is assured of a free and pure expression by the ballot."

The Thirty-third General Assembly was in session nearly six months. In the early part of the session Representative Harper introduced a bill for the purpose of creating a uniform license for the sale of spirituous liquors. This became a party measure, the Republicans taking the affirmative side of the question, and the Democrats accepting the negative. The bill was introduced on the 26th of January, and continued to be the subject of discussion in the House until June 8, when it passed by a vote of 79 yeas to 65 nays. It had the support of all the Republicans save four, and the opposition of all the Democrats but nine. In the Senate the bill was passed June 15, by a vote of 30 yeas to 20 nays. Twenty-nine Republicans and one Democrat voted for it, and nineteen Democrats and one Republican against it. An hour after its passage it received the signature of Gov. Hamilton, and on the 1st of July it became the law.

Of the Republicans in the House who were most active for the bill were, Adams, Bethea, W. F. Calhoun, W. J. Calhoun, Coats, Fuller, Hoffman, Johnson, Littler, McCartney, Morrison, Owen, Parker, Stimming, Thomas and Worthington, and of the Democrats, Day, Grear, Greathouse, Gregg and Willoughby; and of the Democrats who most actively opposed the passage of the measure were, Abrahams, Billings, Crafts, Haines, Herrington, Klupp, Linegar, McNally, Quinn, Sexton, Starkel, Vaughey and Yancey, and of the Republicans, Wendell. In the Senate the Republicans who

were most active for the bill were, Clough, Fifer, Hogan, Hunt, and Rice, and of the Democrats, Edwards; and of Democrats most active in opposing it were, Duncan, Hamilton, Merritt and Shaw, and of the Republicans, Needles.

Mr. Morrison was the acknowledged leader on the Republican side, and Mr. Haines—although an Independent—on the Democratic. The contest was long, and, at times, very exciting, and it remained a matter of doubt as to which side would triumph, until the very hour the final vote was taken. The leaders were very evenly matched as to ability and parliamentary tactics.

This was the important measure of the session. Exclusive of the appropriation acts there were few bills passed, and they were not momentous in character, if we except "House Bill No. 504," entitled "An act to enable railroad companies to extend their lines or construct branches to points not named in their articles of incorporation, and to enable any railroad company in this State to have power to purchase, own and hold the stock and securities of any railroad that forms a continuous line of travel from this to another State," which received the veto of the Governor. His objections to the bill are plainly and forcibly set forth in this extract from his veto message:

"To allow this bill to become a law, would be to allow the officers and directors of any railroad company in this State to use the surplus earnings of the road—which by law belongs to the stockholders—in the purchase and manipulation of railroad stocks and securities, in the market, and thus permit them to become powerful speculators in the stocks and securities of their own company and those of all other companies formed in other States, with whose lines of railroad they may connect at the borders of this State anywhere, or with which they may form a continuous line of travel.

"The grant of such extraordinary powers and privileges to the officers of a railroad company would enable them to manipulate the price of the stocks and securities of their own company at will, and controlling the fortunes and business of the railroad, to artificially force the price

of such securities up or down, as they pleased, and thus by the 'freezing out' process, well known in corporation circles, the number of stockholders would in due course of time be limited to the few manipulators, and at a financial sacrifice to those stockholders not in the official management.

"But the grant of such dangerous power as this proposed in the bill would enable railroad corporations to accomplish another great wrong, intended to be forbidden by the policy of our constitution and laws. Under the provisions of this bill, if it should become a law, any railroad company organized under the laws of this State, whose line of railroad runs into Chicago, for instance, or any other locality on the border of the State, and there connects or forms a continuous line of travel with railroads running through and organized in another State—might, from its accumulating surplus capital, purchase the stocks and securities of such 'connecting' or 'continuous' railroad in another State without limitation, until it could own the majority of such stocks and securities, and thereby own and control any one, or any number of these lines; thus, in fact, combining them into one vast and powerful monopoly by a consolidation of capital in fact—although formal consolidations of the corporations are expressly and wisely forbidden by law, particularly as to parallel or competing lines.

"I especially object to the last clause of this bill, which is as follows: 'And any purchases (*i. e.* of stocks or securities) heretofore made within the purposes of this act are hereby declared to be lawful.'

"The object of this clause is plain, and can not be mistaken. It is to quietly legalize confessedly illegal acts heretofore committed."

This was the first test Governor Hamilton had with legislation of doubtful import, and his emphatic disapproval of it met the hearty approbation of the people.

A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, giving the Governor power to veto objectionable portions of appropriation bills without impairing the validity of the whole act, passed both houses.

Although Governor Cullom, in retiring from the Executive chair, left the people in perfect peace, the administration of his successor was soon disturbed by the outbreak

of a mob in the mining district of St. Clair county, and the Illinois National Guard was called out to aid in the enforcement of the law. In this conflict one of the disturbers of the peace lost his life, and in concluding an elaborate report to the General Assembly, concerning the use of the State militia on that occasion, Governor Hamilton said:

"I regret as much as any one the necessity which caused the shedding of blood and loss of human life. But in this State, men of all classes must seek redress for wrongs by peaceful and quiet means, and the remedies afforded to all people in the law. They must not attempt to defy the government, trample law under foot, and enforce their demands by violence and intimidation. There can be no objection to workingmen of any kind refusing to work, when dissatisfied with their wages, and thus peaceably demanding and obtaining higher wages, but they have no right to assemble themselves into a lawless mob of rioters, and go about the country taking possession of property not their own, and preventing other workingmen, who are satisfied and who want to work, from work, by abuse, assault, threats, intimidation and terrorizing, or by forcibly compelling them to cease work. The workingmen, just as all other citizens, must and shall be protected in all their natural and legal rights, so far as lies in my power, while chief executive of this State, but whenever they attempt to redress their grievances by violence and force, and thus place themselves beyond the pale of the law's protection, and in open defiance of its officers, then they will come into unequal contest with all the power of the government, civil and military, and must expect to get worsted in every such conflict. For the government must rule, law must be respected, officers obeyed while in the discharge of their duty, and the peace preserved at all hazards, without fear or favor."

This bold, yet calm and deliberate expression of a determination on the part of Governor Hamilton, that he intended to see that the majesty of the law was upheld, even though in order to do so he would have to use the whole power of the State, was opportune, and had the effect to put a sudden end to the mob spirit which was then stalking abroad in the State, and threatened the destruction of both life and property.

CHAPTER XLVI.

JOHN DEMENT.

Col. John Dement, who died at his home in Dixon, on the 16th of January, 1883, was born in Sumner county, Tennessee, April, 1804. He came to Illinois with his parents in 1817; he soon won the confidence of the people of his adopted State, and was elected sheriff of Franklin county in 1826; he represented that county in the General Assemblies of 1828-30; he participated in three campaigns against the Indians; in the first he was aid-de-camp to Gov. Reynolds, with the rank of Colonel; in the second he was a Captain; in the third he was a Major, and commanded a battalion, which had a hotly contested engagement with Black Hawk and his entire band at Kellogg's Grove, in which that noted warrior was repulsed; and Black Hawk is reported to have said that Col. Dement was the bravest man he ever faced in a battle. In 1831, the General Assembly elected him State Treasurer; he was twice re-elected, but resigned the office in 1836, to serve the people of Fayette county as a Representative in the General Assembly, but failing in his efforts to prevent the removal of the capital to Springfield, he resigned his seat in that body and removed to the lead mines in the northern part of the State. In 1837, he was appointed by President Jackson Receiver of Public Moneys, and held the office through the Administration of President Van Buren, but in 1841, President Harrison removed him. In 1844, he was district elector for Polk and Dallas; in 1845, President Polk reappointed him Receiver of Public Moneys; he was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1847; in 1849, President Taylor removed him from

the office of Receiver of Public Moneys; in 1853, President Pierce reappointed him to that office, which he continued to hold until it was abolished; in 1861, he was elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, and was made president *pro tempore*. In 1870, he was again elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, and again made president *pro tempore*. Although living in a strongly Republican district, he was always sure of an election whenever he consented to be a candidate. In his reminiscences, Linder relates the following incident of Col. Dement, which illustrates, to some extent, the character of the man. He says:

"Colonel Dement was not only brave, but in the face of danger he was cool, cautious, and prudent. That I am a living man to-day, I owe, perhaps, to his friendship, bravery and prudence. In 1837, after I was elected to the office of Attorney-General of Illinois, I got into a difficulty with a very desperate man, who was a member of the Senate, and he challenged me, and General James Turney was elected by him as his second, and he delivered the challenge to me. I accepted it, and referred him to Colonel John Dement as my second, who would fix the distance and select the weapons. Having expected this before I received the challenge, I had informed my friend Dement that I expected to be challenged, and that I should select him for my second, and should place my honor and life in his hands. He said to me: 'Linder, I will take charge of both; and, without letting your honor suffer, will take good care that you never fight; for if you do, he will be sure to kill you, for he is as cool and desperate as a bandit.' I replied, that the matter would be placed in his hands, and I should refer his second to him (Col. Dement) as my second, to arrange the distance and select the weapons with which we would fight. Accordingly, when Gen. Turney called upon Col. Dement, Dement informed him that we would fight with pistols at close quarters, each holding one end of the same handkerchief in his teeth.

'My God!' replied Gen. Turney, 'Col. Dement, that amounts to the deliberate murder of both men.'

'It don't matter,' said Dement, 'your principal is cool, desperate and deliberate, while my friend is nervous and

excitable, and if he has to lose his life, your friend must bear him company.'

"Gen. Turney being a very humane and honorable gentleman, and really as much my friend as he was his principal's, said to Col. Dement: 'Colonel, this meeting must never take place; so let you and I take this matter in hand and have it settled in an amicable way, honorable to both parties.'

"'The very thing,' said Col. Dement, 'that I have desired to bring about. Linder is a young man, and has just been elected Attorney-General of the State, and has an interesting wife, and little daughter only four years old, who have only been in this town (Vandalia) but a few days, and it would be next to breaking my heart to have the one made a widow and the other an orphan.'

"They agreed that a hostile meeting should not take place; and the matter was amicably and honorably arranged between the Senator and myself. We met, made friends, shook hands, and to the last day of his life we were the best of friends."

In every public trust Col. Dement filled the full measure of the law; he was able, honest and faithful. As a man he was modest and unassuming; as a citizen, no man stood higher; as a friend, he was warm and true. Politically he was a Democrat, but during the war for the Union he was an active supporter of the war; and his only son, Henry D. Dement, the present Secretary of State, was one of the first volunteers in the three years' service, enlisting in Company "A," Thirteenth Regiment infantry. The death of Col. Dement was deeply mourned by the community in which he had lived so long, and the General Assembly passed resolutions of condolence, and had them spread upon the journals, and a copy sent to the bereaved family.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ABOUT COLORED PEOPLE.

Governor Coles Fined \$2,000 under the Black Laws—Why Black Laws were Enacted—Black Laws Approved—Vote of the State in 1862 on Article Prohibiting Colored Emigration—Vote of Soldiers on Prohibition of Colored Emigration—What Connecticut Did—What Massachusetts Did—What the Nation Did—Transition from Slavery to Freedom—Whipped and Ordered from the State—A Case of Kidnapping—Tribulations of Free Negroes—A Free Colored Boy's Experience—Last Attempt to Return a Fugitive Slave—Trials of Contrabands—Mobbed on Account of his Vote—First Colored School—Blood-Hounds—Colored Jurors—Adoption of Amendments—First Colored Vote Cast in Cairo.

The people of Illinois, until the new order of things, have ever had a fondness for black laws. There was a stringent law passed by the State Legislature in 1819, which was similar in character to that passed in 1853. Under this law, in 1825, a suit was instituted against Governor Coles in the Circuit Court of Madison county, to recover a penalty prescribed by that law; he pleaded the statute of limitation, but the court overruled the plea, and judgment was given against him for \$2,000. A motion was made for a new trial; which the court took under advisement, and before it was decided the Legislature passed an act releasing all penalties under the act of 1819, including those in litigation; but the court declined to grant a new trial, when the case was appealed to the Supreme Court, where the judgment was reversed, and Coles discharged from all liability. (See Gillespie's Recollections of Early Illinois.)

BLACK LAWS—WHY ENACTED.

The changed state of our civilization, as regards the colored race, makes it of interest to the reader to know what the black laws of 1853 were, and how they came to be a part of the laws of the State. Article fourteen of the constitution of 1848 reads as follows: "The General Assembly shall, at its first session under the amended constitution, pass such laws as will effectually prohibit free persons of color from immigrating to and settling in this State; and to effectually prevent the owners of slaves from bringing them into this State, for the purpose of settling them here." The General Assembly of 1853, acting in accordance with this provision of the constitution, passed the following act, which was approved February 12:

**"AN ACT TO PREVENT THE IMMIGRATION OF FREE NEGROES
INTO THIS STATE.**

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the People of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly,* That if any person or persons shall bring, or cause to be brought, into this State, any negro or mulatto slave, whether said slave is set free or not, he shall be liable to an indictment, and, upon conviction thereof, be fined for every such negro or mulatto, a sum not less than one hundred dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars, and imprisoned in the county jail not more than one year, and shall stand committed until said fine and costs are paid.

"SEC. 2. When an indictment shall be found against any person, or persons, who are not residents of this State, it shall be the duty of the court before whom said indictment is pending, upon affidavit being made and filed in said court by the prosecuting attorney, or any other credible witness, setting forth the residence of said defendant, to notify the Governor of this State, by causing the clerk of said court to transmit to the office of the Secretary of State a certified copy of said indictment and affidavit, and it shall be the duty of the Governor, upon the receipt of said copies, to appoint some suitable person to arrest said defendant or defendants, in whatever State or county he or they may be found, and to commit him or them to the jail of the county in which said indictment

is pending, there to remain and answer said indictment, and be otherwise dealt with in accordance with this act; and it shall be the duty of the Governor to issue all necessary requisitions, writs and papers, to the Governor or other executive officer of the State, territory or province where such defendant or defendants may be found: *Provided*, that this section shall not be construed so as to affect persons, or slaves, *bona fide* traveling through this State, from and to any other State in the United States.

"SEC. 3. If any negro, or mulatto, bond or free, shall hereafter come into this State and remain ten days, with the evident intention of residing in the same, every such negro or mulatto shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and for the first offence shall be fined the sum of fifty dollars, to be recovered before any justice of the peace in the county where said negro or mulatto may be found. Said proceedings shall be in the name of the people of the State of Illinois, and shall be tried by a jury of twelve men. The person making the information or complaint shall not be a competent witness upon said trial.

"SEC. 4. If said negro or mulatto shall be found guilty, and the fine assessed be not paid forthwith to the justice of the peace before whom said proceedings were had, it shall be the duty of said justice to commit said negro or mulatto to the custody of the sheriff of said county, or otherwise keep him, her or them in custody; and said justice shall forthwith advertise said negro or mulatto, by posting up notices thereof in at least three of the most public places in his district, which said notices shall be posted up for ten days, and on the day and at the time and place mentioned in said advertisement, the said justice shall, at public auction, proceed to sell said negro or mulatto to any person or persons who will pay said fine and costs, for the shortest time; and said purchaser shall have the right to compel said negro or mulatto to work for and serve out said time, and he shall furnish said negro or mulatto with comfortable food, clothing and lodging during said servitude.

"SEC. 5. If said negro or mulatto shall not, within ten days after the expiration of his, her, or their time of service as aforesaid, leave the State, he, she or they shall be liable to a second prosecution, in which the penalty to be inflicted shall be one hundred dollars, and so on for every subsequent offence the penalty shall be increased

fifty dollars over and above the last penalty inflicted, and the same proceedings shall be had in each case as is provided for in the preceding section for the first offence.

"SEC. 6. Said negro or mulatto shall have a right to take an appeal to the circuit court of the county in which said proceedings shall have been had, within five days after the rendition of the judgment, before the justice of the peace, by giving bond and security, to be approved by the clerk of said court, to the people of the State of Illinois, and to be filed in the office of said clerk within said five days, in double the amount of said fine and costs, conditioned that the party appealing will personally be and appear before said circuit court at the next term thereof, and not depart said court without leave, and will pay said fine and all costs, if the same shall be so adjudged by said court; and said security shall have the right to take said negro or mulatto into custody, and retain the same until the order of said court is complied with. And if the judgment of the justice of the peace be affirmed in whole or in part, and said negro or mulatto be found guilty, the said circuit court shall thereupon render judgment against said negro or mulatto and the security or securities on said appeal bond, for the amount of fine so found by the court, and all costs of suit, and the clerk of said court shall forthwith issue an execution against said defendant and security as in other cases, and the sheriff or other officer to whom said execution is directed shall proceed to collect the same by sale or otherwise: *Provided*, that this section shall not be so construed as to give the security on said appeal bond right to retain the custody of said negro or mulatto for a longer time than ten days after the rendition of said judgment by said circuit court.

"SEC. 7. In all cases arising under the provisions of this act, the prosecuting witness, or person making the complaint and prosecuting the same, shall be entitled to one-half of the fine so imposed and collected, and the residue of said fine shall be paid into the county treasury of the county in which said proceedings were had; and said fines, when so collected, shall be received by said county treasurer and kept by him as a distinct and separate fund, to be called the 'charity fund,' and said fund shall be used for the express and only purpose of relieving the poor of said county, and shall be paid out by said treasurer upon the order of the county, drawn upon him for that purpose.

"SEC. 8. If, after any negro or mulatto shall have been arrested under the provisions of this act, any person or persons shall claim any such negro or mulatto as a slave, the owner, by himself, or agent, shall have a right by giving reasonable notice to the officer or person having the custody of said negro or mulatto, to appear before the justice of the peace before whom said negro or mulatto shall have been arrested, and prove his or their right to the custody of said negro or mulatto as a slave, and if said justice of the peace shall, after hearing the evidence, be satisfied that the person or persons claiming said negro or mulatto, is the owner of and entitled to the custody of said negro or mulatto, in accordance with the laws of the United States passed upon this subject, he shall, upon the owner or agent paying all costs up to the time of claiming said negro or mulatto, and the costs of proving the same, and also the balance of the fine remaining unpaid, give to said owner a certificate of said facts, and said owner or agent so claiming shall have a right to take and remove said slave out of this State.

"SEC. 9. If any justice of the peace shall refuse to issue any writ of process necessary for the arrest and prosecution of any negro or mulatto, under the provisions of this act, upon complaint being made before said justice by any resident of his county, and his fees for said service being tendered him, he shall be deemed guilty of non-feasance in office, and upon conviction thereof punished accordingly; and in all cases where the jury find for the negro or mulatto, or that he, she or they are not guilty under the provisions of this act, the said justice of the peace shall proceed to render judgment against the prosecuting witness, or person making the complaint, and shall collect the same as other judgments: *Provided*, that said prosecuting witness, or person making said complaint, in case judgment is rendered against him, shall have a right to take an appeal to the circuit court, as is provided for in this act in case said negro or mulatto is found guilty.

"SEC. 10. Every person who shall have one-fourth negro blood shall be deemed a mulatto.

"SEC. 11. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage."

BLACK LAWS APPROVED.

The present and future generations may be disposed to view with feelings of horror men who would deliberately

pass such a law, little thinking that it was the fault of the people themselves. At that period, a majority of the people of Illinois loathed the very presence of the colored man, and were unwilling to accord to him any of the civil or political rights enjoyed by the white man. The article of the constitution which enjoined upon the General Assembly the passage of this act was submitted to a separate vote of the people when the constitution was voted upon, and it was adopted by a majority of 28,938; and in 1862, the people confirmed the work of the Legislature of 1853 by adopting Article 18, Sections one, two and three of the then proposed constitution, which was submitted to them for their adoption or rejection, by an unprecedented majority. That article was in these words:

ARTICLE 18.

"SECTION 1. No negro or mulatto shall migrate to or settle in this State, after the adoption of this constitution.

"Sec. 2. No negro or mulatto shall have the right of suffrage or hold office in this State.

"Sec. 3. The General Assembly shall pass all laws necessary to carry into effect the provisions of this article.

VOTE IN 1862 ON ARTICLE PROHIBITING COLORED IMMIGRATION.

There was a majority of 24,515 against the constitution. Article 18 was voted on separately, and by sections; the vote for section 1 was, 178,252; against, 73,287. Majority for section 1, 104,965.

For section 2, 218,405; against, 87,548. Majority for section 2, 180,857.

For section 3, 205,398; against, 46,818. Majority for section 3, 159,080.

VOTE OF THE SOLDIERS.

The framers of the proposed constitution had provided for the soldiers in the field voting on the adoption or rejection of the constitution. The vote in the army was as follows:

For the constitution, 1,687; against, 10,151. Majority against, 8,464.

For Section 1, Article 18, 6,356; against, 1,981 Majority for, 4,375.

For Section 2, Article 18, 6,485; against, 1,899. Majority for, 4,586.

For Section 3, Article 18, 6,460; against, 1,904. Majority for, 4,556.

Thus it will be seen that nine years after the passage of the black laws, the people assembled at the ballot-box, at a time when there was no political excitement, and reaffirmed, through the medium of the ballot, the very principles embodied in the black laws; and although the State had at that time near a hundred thousand soldiers in the field, many of whom were without an opportunity to vote, the aggregate vote in the State on the adoption or rejection of the constitution was 277,993, being only 58,411 votes less than was cast at the Presidential election in 1860, when the full strength of the political parties was brought out to the polls. It is sometimes a habit with men engaged in active politics to select the name of some prominent leader, and charge to him the responsibility of the passage of a bad or unpopular law; but the responsibility of the passage of the black laws cannot be so charged, for the reason that the people themselves are responsible for them, and the Legislature but reflected their will.

WHAT CONNECTICUT DID.

It is not strange, however, that Illinois should have partaken of the spirit to oppress the negro, when we bear in mind that at the time of the adoption of the National Constitution every State in the Union, except Massachusetts, tolerated slavery, and in most of them the laws were severe and arbitrary; but even Massachusetts had tolerated the institution in Colonial times, and hence none of

the original States are exempt from the charge of having had a share in its barbarism.

In 1833, Miss Prudence Crandall opened her school at Canterbury, Windham county, Connecticut, to the education of negro girls. This greatly incensed the people of that community, and on the 24th of May of that year, the Legislature passed an act, with the view of destroying or breaking up her school, the preamble of which reads thus: "Whereas, attempts have been made to establish literary institutions in this State for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other States and countries, which would tend to the great increase of the colored population in the State, and thereby to the injury of the people." The act provided that no person should set up or establish, in that State, any school, academy or literary institution for the instruction or education of colored persons who were not inhabitants of that State, nor instruct or teach in any school, academy or literary institution whatever in that State, or harbor or board for the purpose of attending or being taught or instructed in any such school, academy or literary institution, any colored person who was not an inhabitant of any town in that State, without the consent, in writing, of a majority of the selectmen of the town in which such school, academy or literary institution was located. The penalty provided was a fine of \$100, for the first offense; for the second, \$200, and so double the amount for every offense he or she might commit. (See Revised Statutes of Connecticut, of 1835.) Under this law, Miss Crandall was prosecuted. The case was tried in the Superior Court, at Brooklyn, October term, 1833, before Judge Daggett, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Errors. Mr. Daggett, in his instructions to the jury, adverting to the import of the Constitution of the United States relating to citizenship, said:

"To my mind, it would be a perversion of terms and the well-known rule of construction, to say that slaves, free blacks, or Indians, were citizens, within the meaning of that term as used by the Constitution. God forbid that I should add to the degradation of this race of men; but I am bound, by my duty, to say they are not citizens."

The jury brought in a verdict of guilty, and Miss Crandall was fined \$100. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of Errors. Thomas Day, the official reporter, in reporting the proceedings of the case, says:

"Judson and C. F. Cleaveland, for the State (defendant in error), after remarking upon the magnitude of the question, as affecting not the town of Canterbury alone, but every town in the State and every State in the Union, said the principles urged by the counsel for the plaintiff in error, if established, would, in their consequences, destroy the government itself and this American Nation—blotting out this Nation of white men and substituting one from the African race—thus involving the honor of the State, the dignity of the people, and the preservation of its name." (See 10th Connecticut Reports, p. 339.)

The judgment of the lower court was reversed, and Miss Crandall resumed her school, but it was finally broken up by violence and arson.

WHAT MASSACHUSETTS DID.

In 1835, William Lloyd Garrison, while addressing a Boston audience in opposition to slavery, was seized by what is known as the broad-cloth mob, a rope was thrown round his body and he was dragged through the principal streets of that city, for no other offense than having raised his voice against the institution of slavery.

In the same city, in 1837, in a meeting which had been called at Faneuil Hall, to denounce the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy at Alton, as a monstrous crime, James T. Austin, then the Attorney-General of that State, made a violent speech in justification of the murder. (See History of

Massachusetts.) If such things could take place in enlightened (!) Massachusetts, far remote from slavery and its debasing influences, Illinois, with two slave States for neighbors, will certainly be excused for the part she took in opposing the liberty or civil rights of the colored man.

WHAT THE NATION DID.

But far more remarkable is the fact that the feeling of the people of the United States was so intense against the abolitionist or friend of the negro, that President Jackson, a brave, good man, renowned for his ability and moral courage, felt called upon to recommend to Congress in his message of December 7, 1835, the passage of an act for excluding from the mails abolition newspapers and publications, and a bill was introduced into the Senate, in 1836, for that purpose. When it was under discussion in committee of the whole, on June 2, Mr. Calhoun, Senator from South Carolina, introduced an amendment providing for burning or otherwise destroying such papers or documents, which was adopted, but when, on June 9, the bill came up for final passage, it was lost, by a vote of 19 ayes to 25 noes. The Illinois Senators, Kent and Ewing, voted against the bill. Henry Clay, Senator from Kentucky, a slave State, voted against the bill, while James Buchanan, afterward President of the United States, from the free State of Pennsylvania, voted for the bill.

In further extenuation of the position occupied by Illinois as regards the rights of the negro, we cite the fact that, notwithstanding the Declaration of Independence declared that all men are created equal, from the First Congress, which convened March 4, 1789, under the Constitution of "the more perfect Union," to the Thirty-sixth, which met December 5, 1859, there was no legislation which tended to improve the condition of the colored race; and as late as December, 1856, the Supreme

Court rendered an opinion, the most elaborate ever written by that body, which solemnly declared that the negro had no rights under the laws of the land, which white men were bound to observe. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that Illinois should have been blind upon the subject; but when the emancipation proclamation gave the colored man his liberty, and the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the National Constitution secured him equal rights and protection with the white man, under the laws of the land, Illinois was quick to repeal all laws which created a distinction between the races; and on February 7, 1865, the Legislature passed an act repealing the black laws of 1853, and those on the statutes of 1845. In the constitution of 1870 was omitted the word white, and in 1874 the Legislature passed an act giving colored children equal rights with the white in the public schools. And now there is none to molest or make afraid the colored man on account of race, color, or previous condition.

TRANSITION FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM.

The transition of the colored man from the position of a slave or menial to that of a citizen of the United States, was so rapid as not always to leave upon his mind a proper idea of his relation to society, politics or the Government itself; and there has been some disposition to claim more rights and privileges than are contemplated in the laws which gave him his freedom and citizenship, chief among which is the demand for office. Now it must be borne in mind that the Constitution of the United States does not recognize as a qualification to office any particular race. A person is not elected Senator or Representative to Congress because he is an Englishman, Irishman, Frenchman or German, but because he is a citizen of the United States, by birth or adoption, and has attained the proper

age, and possesses the moral and intellectual qualifications to entitle him to occupy the trust. The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States did not change the principles governing this question in the least. As a rule, men are chosen to high positions of public trust because of their fitness, and not because of their race or nationality. If the colored man would enjoy a share in the public trusts of the State or Nation, he must fit himself, by education and moral training, to entitle him to recognition in the government of the country. A greedy scramble or clamor for office under the threat that if these people are not given place and power they will set up a party for themselves, will tend only to prolong the time when their right to ask for a voice in guiding the affairs of the country will be heard. There is too great an odds between 6,000,000 colored people and 44,000,000 white, for them to think of drawing the color line, in a political sense. It is not out of place, however, in this connection, to say that many colored men have been given high and honorable trusts in the governments of the States and the Nation since their enfranchisement, but in most cases because of their fitness to hold the trusts. In some of the Southern States colored men have been elected to the office of Governor, while in others they have been chosen Senators and Representatives in the General Assemblies, and Senators and Representatives in Congress; and in Kansas, an original free State, a colored man has been elected Secretary of State. In Illinois, the colored people have made a very good start in regard to the advancement of their race, and identified with the prominent business interests of the State are found many active, intelligent colored men; and in all the callings or pursuits of life they are beginning to take front places. In the ministry there are not a few eminent men, while in the professions of law and medicine

there are some who have attained prominence; and in the arts, we call to mind Dennis Williams, an artist at Springfield, whose portraits of some of our distinguished statesmen have gained celebrity throughout the State. In political affairs, John J. Bird, of Cairo, was the first colored person to receive recognition from the Executive of the State. Gov. Beveridge appointed him one of the Trustees of the Industrial University at Champaign. Mr. Bird was twice elected Police Magistrate of Cairo, first in 1873 and again in 1877. J. W. E. Thomas, of Chicago, has been twice a member of the House of Representatives; he served in that body in 1877, and again in 1883; and times without number colored men have held subordinate positions in the various departments of State—all of which goes to show that there exists no disposition to keep the colored man in check in the race of life.

Of the colored men of Illinois who deserve more than a passing notice, is the late John Jones, of Chicago, who was born in North Carolina, in 1816; he came to Illinois in 1841, settling at Alton, where he married Mary Richardson, and soon after removed to Chicago. There he accumulated property, and so conducted himself as to win the respect of the community, and was well-known among the prominent anti-slavery men of the country, long before the war. John Brown was a frequent visitor at his house, and the escaped slave, in his perilous journey to Canada, often found refuge and protection under his hospitable roof. The last time John Brown was his guest, he was on his way to Harper's Ferry, Virginia, to commence an active raid against slavery, and for which offense he was tried, condemned and hung. On that occasion he said to Mr. Jones that he would advise him to lay in a good supply of cotton, sugar and tobacco, for he was going to "raise their price."

After the emancipation proclamation, and adoption of the 13th amendment to the Constitution of the United States, Mr. Jones wrote and spoke with much power in behalf of the repeal of the black laws, and the enactment of such laws as would give his people equal civil and political rights with the whites; and when the colored man was enfranchised, Mr. Jones was one of the first in the State to be elected to an office. He was twice elected one of the Commissioners of Cook county, from Chicago, and served each time with Carter Harrison, the present Mayor.

After a long and useful life, he died on the 21st of May, 1879, leaving a widow and one child. His estate was valued at \$70,000.

Mrs. Jones' father was a resident of Alton at the time of the murder of Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, and Mrs. Jones was then a girl of some fifteen years. She vividly remembers the tragedy, and the sad and silent little funeral procession which followed his remains to the burial ground, for it passed by her father's house.

WHIPPED AND ORDERED FROM THE STATE.

Notwithstanding Illinois was consecrated to freedom, she has had, from first to last, many pro-slavery citizens, and among the towns in which resided some of the more outspoken, was Griggsville, Pike county. An Abolitionist had few friends there; indeed he was regarded as a person beneath the respect of the people. In 1845, during the agitation of the question of annexing Texas to the United States, a stranger happened into the town on the evening of a meeting of the Lyceum, and after the business hour had passed he stated that he had a petition which he would be glad to have those present sign, and quite a number attached their names without knowing its real object; but next morning, after the stranger had taken his departure, it became known to the

leading pro-slavery men that it was a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, when the stranger was followed, the petition taken from him and he whipped and commanded to leave the State without delay. An effort was subsequently made to compel every signer to withdraw his name, which they all did, with the exception of O. M. Hatch and Nathan French, and the latter was hotly pursued to the store of Starne & Alexander, where he obtained an axe-helve and prepared to defend himself to the last extremity. In the meantime, John M. Palmer, then the Yankee clock peddler, coming in at the rear entrance, handed French a pistol, saying at the same time, "defend yourself with that," and with these weapons Mr. French succeeded in driving away his assailants.

A CASE OF KIDNAPPING.

In 1845, Joseph Dobbs, of Tennessee, a man of education and refinement, inherited some eight or ten families of slaves, numbering in all about forty persons, but being opposed to slavery he removed with them to Illinois, settling in Pope county, where he bought for each head of a family a small tract of land on which to begin life, and gave to all their free papers. Mr. Dobbs was a bachelor, and spent much of his time in looking after the interests of his colored colony with almost as much tenderness as though they had been his own children. In the spring of 1846, three of the most likely children were stolen by Joseph Vaughn and his band and taken to Missouri and sold into slavery. Vaughn was a great outlaw, and when it became known that the children had been run off and sold into slavery, the better citizens of Pope county resolved to secure their return at any cost, and Dr. William Sim, Maj. John Raum, Judge Wesley Sloan and Philip Vineyard offered a reward of \$500 for their apprehension.

William Rhodes, sheriff of the county, volunteered to go in search of the children, whom he found in Missouri, and returned them to their parents. Vaughn was afterward indicted for the offense, but he endeavored to shift the responsibility upon certain members of his gang, who retaliated by poisoning him, from the effects of which he died. The prejudice against persons befriending colored people was not so great in Pope county then as in some other localities of the State, and Mr. Rhodes was elected the same year as a Representative to the Fifteenth General Assembly from the counties of Pope and Hardin; he died January 4, 1847, while a member, and was buried at Springfield. Mr. Dobbs died the latter part of 1847, and willed his entire property to the colored people to whom he had vouchsafed the boon of liberty.

TRIBULATIONS OF FREE NEGROES.

The public records of Illinois show many curious things regarding the treatment of free colored persons, before the emancipation of slavery. We obtained the following from the record kept by John Raum, Probate Judge of Pope county:

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, } ss.
"POPE COUNTY. }

"The people of the State of Illinois, to the sheriff of said county, greeting: We command you to receive the body of Ned Wright, a negro, who has been brought before me, and on being examined is not found to have free papers; he is, therefore, committed to your charge, to be dealt with according to law.

"Given under my hand and seal, this 19th day of April, A. D. 1847.

"JOHN RAUM, P. J. P. Co. (Seal.)"

This is only one of hundreds of a similar character found upon that record. In order that our readers may understand the purport of this order, we copy from the Revised Statutes of 1845, page 388, Chapter 74, Section 5, of the law governing such proceedings:

"Section 5. Every black or mulatto person who shall be found in this State, and not having such a certificate as is required by this chapter, shall be deemed a runaway slave or servant, and it shall be lawful for any inhabitant of this State to take such black or mulatto person before some justice of the peace, and should such black or mulatto person not produce such certificate as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of such justice to cause such black or mulatto person to be committed to the custody of the sheriff of the county, who shall keep such black or mulatto person, and in three days after receiving him shall advertise him, at the court house door, and shall transmit a notice, and cause the same to be advertised for six weeks in some public newspaper printed nearest to the place of apprehending such black person or mulatto, stating a description of the most remarkable features of the supposed runaway, and if such person so committed shall not produce a certificate or other evidence of his freedom, within the time aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the sheriff to hire him out for the best price he can get, after having given five days' previous notice thereof, from month to month, for the space of one year; and if no owner shall appear to substantiate his claim before the expiration of the year, the sheriff shall give a certificate to such black or mulatto person, who, on producing the same to the next circuit court of the county, may obtain a certificate from the court, stating the facts, and the person shall be deemed a free person, unless he shall be lawfully claimed by his proper owner or owners thereafter. And as a reward to the taker up of such negro, there shall be paid by the owner, if any, before he shall receive him from the sheriff, ten dollars, and the owner shall pay to the sheriff for the justice two dollars, and reasonable costs for taking such runaway to the sheriff, and also pay the sheriff all fees for keeping such runaway, as other prisoners: *Provided, however,* that the proper owner, if any there be, shall be entitled to the hire of any such runaway from the sheriff, after deducting the expenses of the same: *And, provided also,* that the taker-up shall have a right to claim any reward which the owner shall have offered for the apprehension of such runaway. Should any taker-up claim any such offered reward, he shall not be entitled to the allowance made by this section."

It will be observed that, after all this circumlocution, there was nothing in the certificate of freedom. But lest some of our readers should be curious to know how a negro became free at all, we will say that there were not infrequently persons in the slave States who, becoming convinced of the injustice and wickedness of the institution, would manumit their slaves, but the laws of the slave States required the owner to remove them to the free States. Sometimes, as was the case with Gov. Coles, the owner would buy homes for his slaves and become their bondsman. In this way many freedmen became residents of the several free States, and naturally migrated from one free State to another, believing that they had a right so to do, but the police regulations were so unjust and arbitrary in Illinois, that they experienced great trouble in establishing a residence in the State; and it was not an uncommon thing for such persons to be kidnapped and sold into slavery, notwithstanding they might have had their certificates of freedom, for they had no redress in the courts.

A FREE BOY'S EXPERIENCE.

In 1859, a colored boy, who had been born in Ohio, wandered into Illinois with the hope of bettering his condition financially, but not finding in the broad prairie State what had been pictured to him, he bent his way to St. Louis, unmindful that the laws of Missouri were unfriendly to his race. But he had hardly set foot in that city before he was arrested and taken before an officer, who sentenced him to receive "500 lashes for being a free-born negro in the State without a pass." Just as he was being removed to the place of punishment, Captain George Stackpole, a steamboatman of Cincinnati, entered the court room and demanded the release of the boy on the pretext that he was an employé of his boat. The word "lashes" the boy had not heard when his sentence

was pronounced, and did not understand what was to be done with him until told by his deliverer, who had known him in Ohio. The boy little knew that while he had so narrowly escaped a vile punishment in Missouri, in free Illinois he had been but little better off. That boy's name was Joseph Pleasants, and our informant says he is now an industrious citizen of Peoria.

LAST ATTEMPT TO RETURN A SLAVE.

About the last effort to return a slave from this State to his master, under the fugitive slave law, was made at Shawneetown in the latter part of 1862. It was reported that there was a fugitive from labor harbored at the house of Stephen R. Rowan, a prominent citizen, but who was then known as a Black Republican, whereupon a few pro-slavery men were called together for the purpose of determining upon measures for the return of the fugitive at any cost. At that time the Confederates had possession of that part of Kentucky near Shawneetown, and frequent threats had been made to sack and burn the town. Under these circumstances, this meeting was not altogether harmonious, there being one spirit among the number bold enough to protest against the return of the slave, and strong enough to deter the others from molesting Mr. Rowan in the possession of the supposed fugitive slave.

TRIALS OF CONTRABANDS.

The reader has been made aware that prior to the emancipation proclamation colored persons could not permanently settle in Illinois without first giving bond that they would not become charges upon the State. Here is, perhaps, the last instrument of the kind executed in Illinois. It was made at the time slaves were known as "contrabands of war," and the colored person in question was brought from Cairo to Shawneetown to be employed in the family of her bondsman, as a servant:

"Know all men by these presents, that we, Caroline Sanders' and James B. Turner, of Shawneetown, Illinois, are held and firmly bound unto the People of the State of Illinois, for the use of Gallatin county, in the sum of one thousand dollars, good and lawful money of the United States, to be paid to said State for the use of said county, to which payment well and truly to be made we bind ourselves, our heirs and administrators firmly by these presents. Sealed with our seals, and dated this 1st day of September, 1862.

"The condition of this is such, that whereas, the above bounden Caroline Sanders is a free person of color, at least she asserts herself to be free, and is desirous of settling in Gallatin county, Illinois: Now if the said Caroline Sanders shall not at any time become a charge to said county, or to any other county in the State, as a poor person, and shall at all times demean herself in strict conformity of the laws now enacted and that may hereafter be enacted in this State, then this obligation to be void, otherwise to be and remain in full force and effect.

"CAROLINE ^{her} X SANDERS, (SEAL.)
"JAMES B. TURNER, (SEAL.)

"Signed and sealed in the presence of
"MARY A. RICHESON."

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, } ss.
GALLATIN COUNTY, }

"I, Silas Cook, county clerk of the county and State aforesaid, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original bond now on file in my office. Given under my hand and official seal, this 20th day of April, A. D. 1883.

"SILAS COOK,
"County Clerk."

Many of our readers will be surprised to learn that the prejudice of the times was so great against the mere idea of taking slave property under any circumstances, as to compel the return of this contraband to the official from whom she was received.

Another case, something similar in character, occurred at Harrisburg, Saline county, in the same year. Dr.

John W. Mitchell, one of the earliest Republicans in the State, had brought two families of contrabands from Cairo, and put them upon his farm, a few miles distant from Harrisburg. They had hardly located in their new home before the news spread like wild-fire among the pro-slavery men, "that the laws of Illinois were being set at defiance by the introduction of negroes into the county," and a large mass-meeting was soon held at the court house in Harrisburg, to cause their removal. Several violent speeches were made, in which Dr. Mitchell was bitterly denounced, and resolutions were passed strongly condemning him for bringing the contrabands into the community, and a committee was appointed to notify him to return them to Cairo within a given time, or suffer the consequences. In the meantime, Mitchell, being advised of the action of the meeting, had taken the precaution to prepare himself for any emergency, which, coming to the ears of the committee, they refrained from carrying out the instructions of the meeting. As the contrabands were not removed, a second meeting was held—and a similar performance gone through with—and the threat was boldly made that if Mitchell did not return the contrabands his life and property would be destroyed. But time passed, and Mitchell bravely stood his ground. This second failure to drive him into measures caused better counsels to prevail, and when the Circuit Court convened he was simply indicted under the "black laws" of the State; and that indictment remained upon the records of the Circuit Court of Saline county long after the war, notwithstanding the repeal of the black laws in 1865. In fact it was not disposed of until the present State Constitution, which omitted the word "white," came into effect, when it was stricken from the docket. We apprehend that many of the persons who took part in the

ill-advised proceedings would be ashamed to see their names in these pages, and we therefore spare them that mortification. But such is history.

MOBBED ON ACCOUNT OF HIS VOTE.

The intolerance of certain pro-slavery men in the south part of the State was very great during the war, and they therefore committed many acts of folly. In the proposed Constitution, which was formed in 1862, was an Article which prohibited the emigration of free negroes or mulattoes into the State. It was submitted to a separate vote of the people. Rev. W. V. Eldridge, of Golconda, cast the only vote polled in Pope county against this Article. This greatly incensed his pro-slavery neighbors, and on the following Sunday they assembled in the form of a mob at a church in the country, where Eldridge had an appointment, and attempted to prevent him from preaching; but the men and women of his congregation rallied to his support, and put the mob to flight. But a marvelous change in political sentiment has taken place in that community. Mr. Eldridge has had the honor to represent the district in the General Assembly, and at this time is County Judge of Pope county.

FIRST COLORED SCHOOL.

The first attempt to establish a school for colored children in this State was made at Shawneetown, after the proclamation of freedom, by Miss Sarah Curtis, of Evansville, Ind. After a hard struggle she obtained a small room in which to open her school, and for a time she taught with great energy and apparent satisfaction, but she was so ostracised by white women that after a few months she gave up the work in utter disgust, and returned to her former home.

BLOOD-HOUNDS.

Many of our readers will learn with surprise that before the war colored men, attempting to escape into free territory, were hunted down by the aid of blood-hounds; but such is the fact. William Belford, of Golconda, was one of many men, in Illinois, who made their living by catching and returning runaway slaves. He kept a favorite blood-hound for this purpose, and was often seen upon the highway, on horseback, with it sitting in his lap. It is said by those who knew him well, that he thought more of this hound than he did of his own children. During the war he was, naturally, a violent rebel, and was often embroiled in quarrels with his neighbors, in regard to the conduct of the war, as waged by the National authorities, and in one of these met his death, at the hands of Wm. Whiteside, of Golconda, in 1864.

COLORED JURORS.

It has been a difficult matter for the white people along the Ohio river to overcome their prejudice against allowing colored people equal civil rights with themselves. As late as 1880, James A. Rose, County Attorney of Pope county, was assaulted in the streets of Golconda, for allowing a colored person to sit on a jury. The person who assailed him was one of the jurors, and was not aware that a colored man had sat with him until after the case had been decided and the jury discharged. The colored juror was a bright mulatto, and had not infrequently been mistaken for a white man.

ADOPTION OF AMENDMENTS.

The Thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which declared that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime,

whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction," was adopted by the Legislature of Illinois, February 1, 1865.

The Fourteenth amendment, which guaranteed to the colored man citizenship, was adopted by the Legislature of Illinois, January 15, 1867.

The Fifteenth amendment, which enfranchised the colored race, was adopted by the Legislature of Illinois, March 5, 1869.

The Constitutional Convention of 1870 framed the State Constitution so as to conform to these amendments.

FIRST COLORED VOTE CAST IN CAIRO.

At the first election in Cairo, after the enfranchisement of colored men, Patrick Kelly, a Democrat, armed himself and declared that he would shoot the first "nigger" who attempted to vote in his ward, which was largely inhabited by colored people. As a matter of course, the colored men were anxious to exercise the right of suffrage, and had assembled in large numbers at the polls; but hours passed, and yet nobody seemed willing to dispute the authority of Kelly, until Col. W. R. Brown, of Metropolis, then on duty in the collector's office at Cairo, asked P. H. Pope to select for him a colored man whom he knew to be a citizen and entitled to vote, and he would see that he voted. John Evans was selected, and Mr. Brown marched him to the polls, and his ballot was recorded without interference on the part of Mr. Kelly. This was taken as the signal for a general rush to the polls, and many colored men voted in rapid succession without the slightest objection by anybody, when Kelly walked away in utter disgust, uttering words of execration upon the "d—d nigger government."

We have been induced to speak of such incidents as are here recorded to show how deeply seated were the prejudices of the people of Illinois against the intellectual or political advancement of the colored race.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ABOUT WOMEN.

Mrs. Juliet C. Raum—Mrs. Catherine Wilson—Mrs. Mary Todd Lincoln—Mrs. Mary S. Logan—Women Lawyers—Women School Officers—Women Notaries Public—How Long will it be Before They can Vote?

MRS. JULIET C. RAUM.

During the war for the Union, many able and eminent women were brought upon the stage of action, and contributed greatly to the success of our arms. We speak here of one whose influence and energy were largely exercised in the cause of her country. Her name is Juliet C. Raum of Golconda, wife of Maj. John Raum, who served in the Black Hawk war, and mother of Gen. Green B. and Maj. John M. Raum. At the time the war was declared, her husband, who had reached his three score and ten, was too far advanced in the infirmities of life to take the active part his patriotism prompted, but she took, as it were, his place, and in her broad, generous nature was ever busy, speaking words of cheer to the departing soldier, caring for the family left behind, or visiting the battle field to look after the wounded and dying. In her sphere she exercised as much power for good in the hour of her country's peril as did any single individual during that long and bloody conflict. She died in 1872, but her

name will live in the community in which she exerted her influence for generations to come, and none who knew her well can read this paragraph without shedding a tear to her memory.

CATHERINE WILSON.

Mrs. Catherine Wilson, wife of the late Harry Wilson, who was Ensign in the War of 1812, and Captain in the Black Hawk war, was a resident of Shawneetown in 1861, when President Lincoln called for 75,000 troops. She had three sons, James H., Henry S., and Bluford—on whom she depended to some extent for protection and support, but with true womanly devotion to her country's flag, she willingly yielded to the inclination of her sons to enter the army, and it is our pleasure to say that she lived to see them all return from their country's service wearing honorable titles as rewards for gallant conduct upon the battle field. James H. Wilson was a graduate of West Point, and on duty at Fort Vancouver when the war began, but was soon sent to the front, where he distinguished himself, and came home with the rank of Major-General of Volunteers, and Lieutenant-Colonel in the regular army. Henry S. and Bluford volunteered as privates and both received commissions as Major.

After the war, Gen. Wilson, familiarly known as Gen. Harry Wilson, was placed, by reason of his eminent ability as a Civil Engineer, in charge of the Government work of improving the Mississippi river at Davenport, Iowa, and of the Illinois river, and the enlargement of the Illinois and Michigan Canal; but he resigned his commission as Lieutenant-Colonel in the regular army in 1869, since which time he has been actively engaged in building railroads in this and other States. In company with his old army friend Gen. E. F. Winslow, Joseph J. Castles, O. Pool, S. K. Casey, T. S. Casey, and others, he built the St. Louis and Southeastern Railway, which is now a part

of the through line between St. Louis and Nashville. The Cairo and Vincennes Railroad, which had been projected many years previous, was finally built by Wilson and Winslow, and the Air Line Road from Louisville, *via* Evansville and Mt. Carmel, over a portion of the line projected in 1837, was built through the instrumentality of Gen. Harry Wilson.

When Gen. Grant was President he appointed Maj. Bluford Wilson U. S. District Attorney for the Southern District of Illinois, and from this he was promoted to Solicitor of the Treasury. He was an able and faithful public servant, and is entitled to no little credit for the part he took in breaking up the great whisky frauds which gained so much prominence from 1873 to 1876.

Maj. Henry S. Wilson lost his life at Shawneetown in 1873, by accidental drowning.

Their mother died in the spring of 1877 at the ripe age of 73, in the full enjoyment of all her faculties, surrounded by her affectionate family.

MRS. MARY TODD LINCOLN.

No history of Illinois would be complete without a word in memory of Mrs. Mary Todd Lincoln, wife of the martyred President. She was the third daughter of Robert S. Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky, a descendent of a distinguished family, which was wide-spread in Virginia and Kentucky. Mrs. Lincoln was born December 13, 1818; was educated at Lexington, at the noted school of Mme. Mentille, of France, and after the death of her mother, came to Illinois, making her home at Springfield, with her accomplished sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, until her marriage with Mr. Lincoln, which occurred November 4, 1842. They had born unto them four children, Robert T., Edward Baker, William W. and Thomas, all of whom are dead except the first named. Edward Baker died at Springfield, February 1, 1850; William

W., at Washington, D. C., February 20, 1862; and Thomas, at Chicago, July 15, 1871. Of Mrs. Lincoln it is said, by those who knew her best, that before her life was blighted by the assassination of her husband, she was a woman of rare brilliancy of mind, gifted in conversation, winning in manner, and withal kind and courteous; and we do not know that we can better state the situation as regards her after-life than to quote a passage from the sermon delivered by Rev. James A. Reed, on the occasion of her funeral, in which he eloquently and tenderly portrays the sadness and sorrow which clouded her pathway:

"Years ago, Abraham Lincoln placed a ring on the finger of Mary Todd, inscribed with these words: 'Love is eternal.' Like two stately trees they grew up among us in the nobler, sweeter fellowship of wedded life. The twain became one flesh. Here they planted their home, and, in domestic bliss, their olive plants grew up around them. Here they were known and honored and loved by an appreciative and admiring community, and when perilous times came, and the Nation looked forth among the people for a steady hand to guide the ship of State, its heart went out after this tall and stately man that walked like a prince among us. He was their choice, and ascending to the chief place in the Nation's gift, he stood like some tall cedar amid the storm of National strife, and with a heroism and a wisdom and a lofty prudence in his administration that won the wonder and respect of the world, he guided the Nation through its peril, back again to peace. But when at the height of his fame, when a grateful people were lauding him with just acknowledgment of his great services to the country, and when he was wearily trying to escape from their very adulation into the restful presence and company of his life partner, to be alone awhile in the hour of his triumphant joy, like lightning, the flash of a cruel and cowardly enemy's wrath struck him down by her side. The voice that cheered a Nation in its darkest hour is hushed. The beauty of Israel is slain upon the high places. The Nation in its grief and consternation is driven almost to madness; strong men know not hardly how to assuage their sorrow or control themselves under it; and when the Nation so felt the shock, what must it have been to the poor woman

that stood by his side, who was the sharer of his joys, the partner of his sorrows, whose heart-strings were wound about his great heart in that seal of eternal love; what wonder if the shock of that sad hour, that made a Nation reel, should leave a tender, loving woman, shattered in body and in mind, to walk softly all her days. It is no reflection upon either the strength of her mind or the tenderness of her heart, to say that when Abraham Lincoln died, she died. The lightning that struck down the strong man, unnerved the woman. The sharp iron of the pungent grief went to her soul. The terrible shock, with its quick following griefs in the death of her children, left her mentally and physically a wreck, as it might have left any of us in the same circumstances. I can only think of Mrs. Lincoln as a dying woman through all these sad years of painful sorrow through which she has lingered since the death of her husband. It is not only charitable but just to her native mental qualities and her noble womanly nature, that we think of her and speak of her as the woman she was before the victim of these great sorrows. Drawing the veil over all these years of failing health of body and mind, which have been spent in seeking rest from sorrow in quiet seclusion from the world, I shall speak of her only as the woman she was before her noble husband fell a martyr by her side."

Mrs. Lincoln's death occurred at the residence of her sister, Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, July 16, 1882, and her remains lie beside those of her husband and children within the Lincoln monument, whither they were followed by the State officers and many sorrowing relatives and friends.

Mrs. MARY S. LOGAN.

One of the great women of Illinois, who has shed lustre upon her sex, is Mrs. Mary S. Logan, wife of Gen. John A. Logan, who was born August 15, 1838, in Petersburg, Missouri, a town now extinct. She was a daughter of John M. and Elizabeth Cunningham; she was educated at St. Vincent Academy, Union county, Kentucky, and was married at Shawneetown, November 27, 1855. Mrs. Logan, has always been a noted woman in society, and

whether as the wife of the young lawyer, the great soldier, or the able senator, she has been the same noble, pure woman; and has ever stood by the side of her husband in the battle of life; and whether in peace or war she has been his most able and trusty adviser—and during all the years she has occupied so conspicuous a place in the eyes of the Nation, she has never lost her place in the affections of her sex.

WOMEN LAWYERS.

The courts and law-makers of Illinois have been somewhat tardy in according to women their natural rights. Until 1872, neither married nor single women were admitted to the bar. In 1868, Mrs. Myra Bradwell, publisher of the *Chicago Legal News*, after passing a creditable examination, made application to the court to be admitted to the legal profession, but her application was refused, on the ground that she was a married woman. Mrs. Bradwell brought suit in the courts to test the validity of the decision, and it was finally carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower courts.

Miss Alta M. Hulett was the next woman to apply for admission to the bar, but her application was treated, on account of her womanhood, with silence.

In 1872, through the instrumentality of these ladies, an act was passed by the General Assembly, which declared that no person should be debarred from any occupation, profession or employment on account of sex. Under this act they were both admitted to the bar, and were the first and only women lawyers in the State until 1884, when Miss Bessie Bradwell, a daughter of Judge James B. and Myra Bradwell, graduated at the Union College of Law, Chicago. She was valedictorian in a class of fifty-five, and Judge Booth, dean of the college, in his address to the class, paid a high tribute to her merit, and wished her a successful future in the profession.

Miss Kate Kane, of Wisconsin, was admitted to practice law in the Supreme Court, at Ottawa, in March, 1884, on a foreign license.

WOMEN SCHOOL OFFICERS.

The first recognition of the law-makers of Illinois to women as public servants, was the passage of an act in 1873, allowing women, married or single, of the age of 21 years, to hold any office under the general or special school laws in this State. Nine women were chosen County Superintendents at the ensuing November election, whose names are as follows: Phoebe A. Taylor, Alexander county; Mrs. Mary E. Crary, Boone; Miss Mary S. Welch, DeWitt; Mrs. Cath. Hopkins, Greene; Nettie M. Sinclair, Kankakee; Mary Ellen West, Knox; Amanda A. Frazier, Mercer; Mary W. Whiteside, Peoria; Sarah C. McIntosh, Will; Mary L. Carpenter, Winnebago.

WOMEN NOTARIES PUBLIC.

In 1875, an act was passed by the General Assembly rendering women eligible to the office of notary public. The law went into effect July 1, and Mrs. Annie Fitzhugh Ousley was the first woman to receive a commission, which was given her by Governor Beveridge, on that day, and on the same day he issued commissions to six women, from Cook county, namely: Lucy A. Bunting, Helen Culver, Lucy M. Gaylord, Alice C. Nute, Sarah A. Richards and Caroline Wescott, since which time many commissions have been issued to women in different counties of the State, and it is now no uncommon thing to see legal instruments bearing the notarial seal of a woman.

In 1879, at the instance of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, a bill was introduced in both houses of the General Assembly, proposing an amendment to the constitution allowing women the right to vote on all

questions relating to the control of the liquor traffic; but it failed in both. In 1881, the subject was again brought before that body, with no better success.

How LONG WILL IT BE BEFORE THEY CAN VOTE?

It remains to be seen whether women who have mastered the arts and sciences; who fill the professions; who keep the cash account of the largest mercantile houses in our great cities, or the mother who moulds the character of the man, shall ever, in the minds of the statesmen of Illinois, know enough to know how to exercise the right of suffrage! Women and Chinamen are the only classes of mankind in Illinois who are not allowed the privilege of the ballot.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ILLINOIS NATIONAL GUARD.

When the war for the Union ensued, the State was without an effective military organization; indeed Governor Yates found the law under which the military power of the State was to be brought into requisition, so faulty as to be almost useless, and he relied mainly on the presence of the soldiers of the National Government to preserve the peace of the State and prevent its invasion from without. Since then the General Assembly has amply provided the legislation necessary to bring into existence a most excellent military system, which is styled the Illinois National Guard, whose total strength of men and officers was, according to the official report of Adjutant-General Elliott, on the 1st of January, 1884, 4,847. The

efficiency of the National Guard in preserving law and order, has not infrequently been attested; but in the great strike of railroad employees in 1877, which permeated all the States, its service in protecting life and property was incalculable. In Chicago, Peoria, Springfield, Galesburg, Rock Island, Decatur and East St. Louis, the mob threatened devastation, and but for the timely presence of the Illinois soldiery, the scenes at Pittsburg would have been re-enacted at Chicago and East St. Louis, and millions of dollars' worth of property would have been laid in ashes, and many lives made a sacrifice to the madness of the hour.

The Guard is composed of two brigades, of which the following is a partial roster:

John M. Hamilton, Governor and Commander-in-Chief.
Brigadier-General J. W. Vance, Adjutant-General.

FIRST BRIGADE--HEADQUARTERS AT CHICAGO.

Brigadier-General Charles FitzSimons, commanding.
Lieut.-Col. Chas. S. Diehl, Assistant Adjutant-General.
Col. E. B. Knox, First Regiment, Chicago.
Col. W. H. Thompson, Second Regiment, Chicago.
Col. C. M. Brazee, Third Regiment, Rockford.
Col. Fred. Bennett, Fourth Regiment, Joliet.
Col. Joel D. Welter, First Regiment Cavalry, Chicago.
Capt. R. M. Wood, Battery C, Joliet.
Capt. E. B. Tobey, Battery D, Chicago.

SECOND BRIGADE—HEADQUARTERS AT SPRINGFIELD.

Brig.-Gen. J. N. Reece, commanding.
Lieut.-Col. C. F. Mills, Assistant Adjutant-General.
Col. J. H. Barkley, Fifth Regiment, Springfield.
Col. Wm. Clendenin, Sixth Regiment, Moline.
Col. C. A. W. Fash, Seventh Regiment, Peoria.
Col. R. M. Smith, Eighth Regiment, Greenup.
Col. Louis Krughoff, Ninth Regiment, Nashville.
Capt. E. Winston, Battery A, Danville.

CHAPTER L.

GREEN B. RAUM.

Among all the supporters of Senator Douglas for the Presidency in 1860, there was no more zealous advocate of his election than Gen. Green B. Raum, and when the flag of his country was assailed, he was as quick to rally to the support of his Government as was his great leader, and to him belongs the distinguished honor of having made the first speech in Southern Illinois in favor of sustaining the Union by war. The fall of Fort Sumter created a profound sensation in this part of the State, as it did all over the country. During the political canvass preceding the election of President Lincoln, political excitement ran high. There was great prejudice against the Republican candidates, and nine-tenths of the voters opposed Lincoln at the polls. When the secession movement was set on foot a number of prominent men in Southern Illinois sympathized with it. Its proximity to Kentucky and Missouri, both slave States, and the free intercourse of the people, back and forth, together with the ties of kinship, brought the people of these States very closely together, and it is not to be wondered at that at the outset there should have been a division of sentiment in that great crisis. Gen. Raum had from the very commencement of the secession movement expressed himself firmly in favor preserving the Union, and when Sumter fell he was prompt in declaring himself on the side of the Government. A few days after this event the Circuit Court of

Massac county convened, and Gen. Raum was in attendance as one of the practicing attorneys. As he passed down the Ohio river the rebel flag was seen floating over the city of Paducah. He arrived at Metropolis Sunday morning, and was met by a number of acquaintances, who were anxious to learn his views upon the pending crisis, whereupon he freely avowed himself for the Union.

On Monday morning the town was full of people eager to learn the news and to exchange opinions with their neighbors. In the evening, an impromptu meeting assembled in front of the law office of Green & Smith, and a number of persons were called out to express themselves on the momentous issue of war. All deprecated war as a means of saving the Union, and some took open ground against all such measures, declaring their unalterable opposition to waging war against their Southern brethren. One gentleman declared that he was born in Tennessee; that the bones of his fathers were buried in that State, and under no circumstances would he take up arms against his kinsmen in an effort to save the Union. These sentiments apparently met the hearty approval of the assemblage, as they were frequently applauded. At last Gen. Raum was called upon for a speech, but as it was getting late in the night he stated that he would be glad to address them upon the great question before them, and would do so at the Court House, the next day at 1 o'clock. The next day came, and with it a great crowd of expectant people, many coming from Paducah, to hear the address, for Gen. Raum was widely known in that portion of Kentucky.

At the appointed time, Gen. Raum commenced his address, and continued to speak for full two hours. He declared the Union perpetual and unbroken; dwelt upon its benefits, and the futility of every effort to destroy it. He declared it the duty of every citizen to stand by the

Union as the great palladium of our liberties; as the only hope for the perpetuation of free government; the only maintenance in the future of domestic peace, and for the promotion of the welfare, prosperity and happiness of the people. He pointed to the Ohio river as a great outlet to the sea, and declared that the people of Illinois, occupying an interior position, would never consent that the navigation of the Mississippi river should ever be disturbed or its mouth owned by a foreign power. He warned the Kentuckians present, that if Kentucky failed in her loyalty to the Union she would become the theatre of war. He stated that while he had opposed the election of President Lincoln, that in the great emergency, whatever other men might do, he had fully made up his mind to give Mr. Lincoln's Administration a cordial and earnest support in its efforts to save the Union.

This speech, by the force of its argument, carried the audience along from point to point, and finally, when the climax was reached and the people were appealed to, to rally to the support of Lincoln's Administration as the true and only means of saving the Union, it was evident that all doubts had been dissipated, and that the people saw their way clearly and could hesitate no longer as to their duty. Then it was that Gen. Raum, without seeking it, met a great emergency, and led the way in Southern Illinois for the people to support the cause of Union and liberty.

Gen. Raum entered the Union army as Major of the 56th Illinois Infantry, and rose successively to the ranks of Lieutenant-Colonel, Colonel, Brevet Brigadier General, and Brigadier General. He served through the siege of Corinth, the campaign of Central Mississippi and Yazoo Pass, commanded a brigade at the siege and capture of Vicksburg, and during the march to the relief of Chattanooga. At the battle of Missionary Ridge he was

severely wounded, while leading his brigade into action. He returned to his command two months later and took an active part in the Atlanta campaign. He reinforced and successfully defended Resaca, Georgia, when that important point in Sherman's line of communications was attacked by the whole force of Hood's army, in October, 1864, and commanded a brigade of the Fifteenth Army Corps in the celebrated march to the sea.

After the close of the war, Gen. Raum resumed the practice of law at Harrisburg, and in 1866 he was elected to the Fortieth Congress as a Republican, defeating Wm. J. Allen in a district theretofore overwhelmingly Democratic. Afterwards he engaged in railroad enterprises, and largely promoted the construction of the Cairo and Vincennes railroad, of which he was the first president.

In the Fall of 1876, there was a strong feeling of uneasiness at the National Capital in regard to the outcome of the pending Presidential election, and President Grant felt it desirable to call around him, in civil capacities, some of his old army associates, upon whose prudence, pluck and discretion he knew he could rely in an emergency. Accordingly, Gen. Raum, among others, was summoned to Washington, and was tendered and accepted the position of Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

The office, under the condition of things then prevailing, was a most difficult one to fill successfully. Injudicious and vacillating legislation as to the amount of tax to be paid upon distilled spirits, and the very imperfect methods at that time in force for the collection of the tax, had fostered frauds and broken down public confidence in the honest administration of internal revenue affairs. Even the best-disposed tax-payers, by reason of their belief that fraudulent preferences had been given to others, were inclined to be hostile to the whole system of internal revenue taxation.

To suppress frauds, and to bring honest tax-payers into harmonious relations with the Government, were thus among the first problems which confronted the new Commissioner. Recognizing that the initial step towards securing honest tax-paying was to secure honest collecting, Gen. Raum brought into play his army experience by inaugurating a system of inspection and reports, by competent revenue agents, as to the entire revenue force of the country. In regard to all officers having a financial responsibility, he established a system of periodical examination and verification of their accounts. All possibility of partiality or collusion in these reports was avoided by a continuous rotation of the inspecting officers. A standard of different grades of excellence was adopted, and collectors were informed in what rank their office stood. The almost immediate result was the creation of a spirit of emulation in the service, which increased year by year. In the first three years of Gen. Raum's administration, under this system of inspections and examinations, less than \$2,800 remained unaccounted for out of a total collection of over \$343,000,000. During succeeding years this deficiency was made good, and at the end of the fiscal year 1882 the Commissioner was able to report a total collection in six years of nearly \$749,000,000 at an average cost for collection of less than three and a half per cent., without the loss of a single dollar by defalcation. In the preceding ten years the loss on internal revenue taxes collected, by defalcation or otherwise, as shown by the accounts of the Treasury Department, had exceeded \$3,000,000.

Commissioner Raum frequently found himself hampered by insufficient appropriations, but scrupulously avoided the creation of any deficiency in regard to expenditures within his control. The only deficiency appropriations asked for by the Internal Revenue Bureau from 1877 to

1883, were in relation to matters where the law made the expenditure imperative, and Congress, though asked to do so, had failed to appropriate the necessary funds.

Under the firm, just, honest, yet judicious and humane administration of the laws thus established, based upon the theory that tax-laws were devised to raise revenue, and not to oppress the tax-payer, or to harshly punish him for trivial or technical violations of the law, where no fraud was intended, a feeling of mutual confidence and respect between the larger tax-payers and the officers of the Government was developed, and an important moral aid was thus thrown on the side of the observance of the laws.

But a most difficult task yet remained to be accomplished, viz: the suppression of the illicit manufacture and sale of whisky and tobacco in the mountain districts of the Southern States, by which not only was great loss inflicted upon the revenue, but whole communities were demoralized and kept in a constant condition of lawlessness and almost open insurrection against the laws of the United States. An embarrassing feature of the problem was, that the law-breakers had, to a considerable extent, the sympathy of the State officials, and others of high authority amongst them. In one year (1879) the Commissioner was called upon to report not fewer than one hundred and sixty-five officers of the United States, engaged in the revenue service, prosecuted in the State courts for acts done in their official capacity. To break down this vicious and mistaken public sentiment, and to bring about a peaceable and orderly enforcement of the laws in all sections of the country alike, Gen. Raum concluded that the first requisite was to put down forcible resistance by superior force. He made requisition on the War Department for breech-loading arms of the most approved pattern, which were promptly supplied, and placed in the hands of the Collectors for use. The "squirrel

guns," and old-fashioned smooth-bore rifles and shot-guns with which the "moonshiners" had been accustomed, with impunity, to pick off suspected revenue officers, from ambuscade, were thus met by the weapons of longer range and greater accuracy, in the hands of brave and determined men, with the law on their side; and a very few skirmishes sufficed to bring about a realizing sense of the changed order of things. Then the campaign was opened in earnest. The operations were carried on by well-organized forces, commanded by experienced ex-officers of both armies, carrying out, in some of the most disturbed districts, a combined and converging movement, from different States, planned and directed by the Commissioner himself. The struggle was protracted and desperate, but in the end the supremacy of the law was vindicated, and whole communities began to sue for terms of surrender. Then came into play a policy of most judicious leniency. After meetings had been held, addressed by United States Senators and members of Congress, in some of the infected districts, counseling obedience to the laws; after similar expressions of sentiment had been received in writing from the highest law officers of some of the States, accompanied by a promise not to attempt to further harrass the officers of the United States, arrested under State process for acts done in their official capacity, an agreement was entered into that if those who had been guilty of violations of the laws would surrender to the United States Courts within a given time, and plead guilty, the Government would ask that sentence should be suspended during good behavior, and that they should be discharged on their own recognizances. In many of the worst districts the illicit distillers availed themselves of this conditional amnesty by the hundreds. A wholesome revolution was thus effected in public sentiment; and it is a curious fact that some of the

counties which had previously been most notorious for "moonshine" outrages and violations of law, became subsequently the scene of temperance movements and religious revivals.

At the same time that these active coercive measures were being carried out to secure compliance with the laws, Gen. Raum was inaugurating other and more peaceful methods of breaking down the practice of illicit distilling. One of the most cogent arguments used by those who defended the practice was this, that it was the only way that the small farmers of those comparatively inaccessible mountain districts had of putting their surplus corn to profitable use. To meet this point, and to enable small distilleries, of the capacity suited to the requirements of the people, to be established, and carried on successfully, (if carried on they must be), and within the requirements of the law, the Commissioner recommended to Congress, and Congress adopted, a relaxation of the rules which were complained of as being impossible to be carried out in distilleries of such limited capacity.

There was no detail of his office with which Gen. Raum did not familiarize himself; and even the methods of gauging spirits were rendered more certainly accurate by a change in the plan of measurement and an improvement in the standard gauging rod devised by him.

The *morale* of the service throughout the country was still further improved by the promulgation by the Commissioner of a civil service order prohibiting a practice which had grown up in a number of districts, of collectors distributing their subordinate offices among their own and their wives' relations. Very strong pressure was brought to bear to break down this rule, but it was consistently maintained, with beneficial results which constantly became more apparent.

Whilst these improvements were being effected in the service at large, important changes and modifications were introduced in the department at Washington. The exercise of the immense powers conferred by law upon the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, in regard to the abatement and refunding of taxes, was wisely restricted by a regulation drawn by Gen. Raum, and approved by Acting Secretary McCormack, providing that *ex parte* affidavits should no longer be regarded as proof, but that evidence in regard to these claims must be taken on notice, with the opportunity given to the counsel for the United States to appear and cross-examine. Important recommendations were made as to the terms of official tenure, and the conditions which should govern appointments, promotions and removals; and, as far as the law allowed, these principles were put into practical operation in the Internal Revenue Bureau.

In 1882, the excess of revenue over the actual needs of the government, and the constant temptation thus presented to extravagance in appropriations, was forcibly brought to the attention of the Forty-seventh Congress by Commissioner Raum, and a plan of reduction of about forty million dollars upon certain objects of taxation was suggested, and was adopted by Congress with scarcely any modification.

Abuses in the administration of justice, in connection with internal revenue cases, resulting from the practice of compensating United States Marshals and District Attorneys by fees, early attracted the attention of Gen. Raum, and in his annual report, dated November, 1879, he exposed the evils inflicted by this system, and recommended that marshals and district attorneys should be paid fixed salaries. This recommendation was renewed in still more vigorous terms in subsequent reports, and has now been adopted by the Department of Justice, and

favorably reported upon by the appropriate committees of Congress. The passage of this measure by Congress would be a fitting cap-sheaf to the six and a half years administration of Gen. Raum, as Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and his efforts to correct abuses, to elevate the character of the service, and to bring it into harmonious relations with the tax-payers.

April 30, 1883, General Raum voluntarily resigned the office of Commissioner, to resume the practice of law.

General Raum was born at Golconda, Pope county, December 8, 1829; he was admitted to the bar in 1853, and practiced his profession throughout Southern Illinois.

CHAPTER LI.

WHISKY FRAUDS.

During the time the tax on whisky was \$2.00 per gallon, the rules and regulations governing its collection were not so rigid as now, and great frauds were practiced all over the country. Many of the employees of the Government, in high and low places, were corrupted, and for a long time it was difficult to ferret out the frauds. Indeed the Government never fathomed the enormity of the conspiracy until after some of the leading conspirators turned State's evidence, which resulted in a complete overthrow of the whisky ring. In Illinois, the frauds were mainly committed in the first, Chicago, and the eighth, Springfield, districts. When the great exposure was made in the first district, it was apparent that many of the officers had been corrupted, and comparatively few were continued in

the service, not that all who were dismissed were corrupt, but it was believed that the good of the service demanded a change. Only nine of the old corps remained on duty, among whom we mention the names of M. C. Springer, A. St. John Campbell, division deputies; C. Cox, gauger; F. H. Battershall, cashier; Mrs. F. A. O. Hicks, clerk. The blandishments of the whisky ring had no influence upon these persons, and when J. D. Harvey became Collector, he continued them in the service, promoting Mr. Springer to the position of chief deputy, and Mr. Cox, chief of division deputies. Under Collector Harvey the service has been brought to a state of great perfection, and the cry of "whisky frauds" has ceased to be associated with the name of Chicago.

Very many suits grew out of the investigation of the frauds in this district, which were vigorously prosecuted under the respective administrations of U. S. District Attorneys Mark Bangs and Joseph B. Leake. The total amount of fines and penalties collected was \$96,137.45.

In the eighth district, the collector, John T. Harper, defaulted in the sum of \$104,000. It is alleged that his chief clerk, Albert Smith, was the prime cause of the defalcation. Both were arrested and prosecuted, and after several years the cases were compromised.

None of Harper's subordinates, except Smith, were implicated in the crime. A. H. Purdie, who was chief deputy collector at the time of the defalcation, was made acting collector until the appointment of Col. Jonathan Merriam, who subsequently made him his chief deputy. Merriam, being a man of high character, soon established perfect confidence in the administration of the affairs of the office, and through all the changes which have since taken place in the officials of the office through its consolidation with the seventh district, and the death of Collector John W. Hill, of the new eighth, and the

appointment of Jacob Wheeler as his successor, it has maintained the highest character at Washington.

As was the case in the first district, many prosecutions followed the investigation of the frauds, which were ably prosecuted by United States District Attorneys, Bluford Wilson, J. P. VanDorstan and James A. Connolly. The total amount of fines and penalties recovered under the several prosecutions were \$82,000.

In the other collection districts there was comparatively nothing in the way of frauds, and it is a satisfaction to know that the Government officials never gave up the investigation until all the guilty parties were arrested and made to pay penalty for the crimes committed, since which time the State has been wholly relieved from the odium of whisky frauds.

As an indication of the fidelity with which the internal revenue tax is collected, we note the fact that during the last fiscal year, ending June 30, 1883, Collector Howard Knowles, of the fifth district, collected \$13,963,625.50; and from March 3, 1875, to June 30, 1883, his collections were \$78,116,712.64; and during all that time there were no frauds known in that district.

For the seven fiscal years commencing July 1, 1876, and ending June 30, 1883, the official reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue show that Illinois paid into the United States treasury \$187,790,569.15, which is not only a fine record for the officers of the service, but it is creditable alike to the tax-payers themselves.

CHAPTER LII.

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

A Bureau of Labor Statistics was established in Illinois by an act of the Thirty-first General Assembly, which went into effect July 1, 1879. The passage of the bill was the result of a demand made by the workingmen of certain of the industrial centers of the State, who had some distinctive representation in both branches of that Legislature. It was believed that with the growth of manufactures and mining, and the consequent increase of communities of operatives dependent upon such enterprises, statistics of wages and of the social and physical condition of such communities procured and published by the State would serve as a guide to intelligent legislation on subjects affecting their interests. The value of such work had been fully illustrated in the reports of a similar bureau which had been maintained for a number of years by the State of Massachusetts; and it was readily recognized by those engaged in industrial enterprises themselves that such a work, made to embrace the general statistics of the manufacturer and miner, might be of interest and importance to all classes.

The law provided that the board should consist of five Commissioners, to be appointed by the Governor, three of whom should be manual laborers and two manufacturers or employers in some productive industry, whose term of office should be two years or until their successors are appointed, with power to appoint a Secretary, who should hold the office for two years or until a successor is appointed. Under this law, Gov. Cullom appointed Chas. H. Deere, of Moline, the manager of one of the largest

establishments for the manufacture of agricultural implements in the country; A. W. Kingsland, of Chicago, president of an extensive nail manufactory; Joseph C. Snow, of Chicago, a practical printer employed on the Chicago *Tribune*; Geo. T. Brown, of Springfield, a practical moulder; Thomas Lloyd, of Belleville, a representative coal miner. The present Secretary of the board is John S. Lord, of Chicago, under whose direction much valuable information has been collected in the manner contemplated by the law, and published in an intelligent and convenient form. The composition of the board is a very happy one, and if its labors shall be continued in the future as they have been conducted in the past, the bureau will prove of great value to the State.

CHAPTER LIII.

GOVERNORS OF ILLINOIS.

Since Illinois was admitted into the Union as a State, there have been twenty gubernatorial elections. Under the Constitution of 1818 the Governor was ineligible to a second election in succession, and the same provision existed in the Constitution of 1848, but in that of 1870 this restriction was omitted. French, Oglesby and Cullom are the only persons who have held the office twice. The Constitution of 1848 legislated French out of office, and he was re-elected that year. Oglesby was elected the second time after the lapse of four years. Cullom, under the Constitution of 1870, was elected to succeed himself. The names of the Governors are given chronologically.

Shadrach Bond became Governor October 6, 1818; Edward Coles, December 5, 1822; Ninian Edwards, December 6, 1826; John Reynolds, December 9, 1830. Reynolds was elected to Congress in 1834, and Wm. L. D. Ewing, Lieut-Gov., succeeded to the office November 17. Joseph

Duncan became Governor December 3, 1834; Thos. Carlin, December 7, 1838; Thos. Ford, December 8, 1842; Augustus C. French, December 9, 1846, and again January 8, 1849, Joel A. Matteson, January, 1853; Wm. H. Bissell, January 12, 1857. Bissell died March 15, 1860, and John Wood, Lieut.-Gov., succeeded to the office March 21, 1860. Richard Yates became Governor January 14, 1861; Richard J. Oglesby, January 16, 1865, and again January 18, 1873; John M. Palmer, January 11, 1869. In 1873, Gov. Oglesby was elected United States Senator, and John L. Beveridge, Lieut.-Gov., succeeded to the office January 23, 1873. Shelby M. Cullom became Governor January 8, 1877, and again January 10, 1881. He was elected United States Senator in 1883, and John M. Hamilton, Lieut.-Gov., succeeded to the office February 6, 1883.

Illinois has not yet had for Governor a citizen who was born in the State. Of the eighteen persons who have occupied the gubernatorial chair two were born in Maryland, Bond and Edwards; one in Virginia, Coles; two in Pennsylvania, Reynolds and Ford; seven in Kentucky, Ewing, Duncan Carlin, Yates, Oglesby, Palmer and Cullom; one in New Hampshire, French; four in New York, Matteson, Bissell, Wood and Beveridge, and one in Ohio, Hamilton. How rapidly the new generations come to assume the duties and cares of government! None of these are living save Oglesby, Palmer, Beveridge, Cullom, and Hamilton the present incumbent. Bond died April 13, 1832, at Kaskaskia; Edwards, July 20, 1833; Duncan, January 15, 1844; Ewing, March 25, 1846; Ford, November 2, 1850; Carlin, February 14, 1852; Bissell, March 15, 1860, at Springfield; French, September 4, 1864, at Lebanon; Reynolds, May 8, 1865, at Belleville; Coles, July 7, 1868, at Philadelphia; Matteson, January, 1873, at Chicago; Yates, November 28, 1873, at St. Louis, at Barnum's Hotel; Wood, June 4, 1880.

CHAPTER LIV.

ILLINOIS IN CONGRESS.

Delegates in Congress from 1811 to 1818—Representatives from 1818 to 1886—
Senators from 1818 to 1889.

NOTE—*d.*, Democrat; *w.*, Whig; *r.*, Republican; *i.*, Independent; *g.*, Greenback.

From Lanman's Biographical Annals and the Congressional Directory we have compiled an authentic list of the Delegates and Representatives and Senators in Congress from the Territory and State, beginning with the Twelfth Congress, which convened November 4, 1811, and closing with the Fiftieth, which terminates March 3, 1889:

DELEGATES.

Shadrach Bond, (*d*) of Kaskaskia, was the first Delegate; he served in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Congresses; October 8, 1814, he was appointed Receiver of Public Moneys at Kaskaskia.

Benjamin Stephenson, (*d*) of Edwardsville, succeeded Bond, and served until 1816, when he was appointed Receiver of Public Moneys at Edwardsville.

Nathaniel Pope, (*d*) succeeded Stephenson, serving until 1818.

REPRESENTATIVES.

John McLean, (*d*) of Shawneetown, was elected Representative in 1818, and served one term.

Daniel P. Cook, (*d*) of Kaskaskia, represented the State from 1820 to 1827.

Joseph Duncan, (*d*) of Jacksonville, represented the State from 1827 to 1834, when he was elected Governor. In the meantime the census of 1830 had increased the representation from one to three, and under this apportionment he then represented the third district.

Charles Slade, (*d*) of Belleville, represented the first district in 1833; he died in July of the same year.

John Reynolds, (*d*) of Belleville, succeeded Slade, and represented the district until 1837, and again from 1839 to 1843.

Adam W. Snyder, (*d*) of Belleville, represented the first district from 1837 to 1839.

Zadok Casey, (*d*) of Mt. Vernon, represented the second district from 1833 to 1843.

William L. May, (*d*) of Springfield, represented the third district, as the successor of Duncan, from 1834 to 1839.

John T. Stuart, (*w*) of Springfield, represented the third district from 1839 to 1843, and the eighth from 1863 to 1865.

The census of 1840 increased the representation from three to seven.

Robert Smith, (*d*) of Alton, represented the first district from 1843 to 1849, and the eighth from 1857 to 1859.

* William H. Bissell, (*d*) of Belleville, represented the first district from 1849 to 1853, and the eighth from 1853 to 1855.

John A. McClernand, (*d*) of Shawneetown, represented the second district from 1843 to 1851, and the sixth (Springfield), from 1859 to 1861, when he resigned to accept the commission of Brigadier-General in the Union army.

Willis Allen, (*d*) of Marion, represented the second district from 1851 to 1853, and the ninth from 1853 to 1855.

Orlando B. Ficklin, (*d*) of Charleston, represented the third district from 1843 to 1849, and again from 1851 to 1853.

* Afterwards a Republican.

Timothy R. Young, (*d*) of Marshall, represented the third district from 1849 to 1851.

*John Wentworth, (*d*) of Chicago, represented the fourth district from 1843 to 1851, and the second from 1853 to 1855, and the first from 1855 to 1867.

Richard S. Molony, (*d*) of Belvidere, represented the fourth district from 1851 to 1853.

Stephen A. Douglas, (*d*) of Quincy, represented the fifth district from 1843 to April, 1847, when he resigned to accept the office of United States Senator.

William A. Richardson, (*d*) of Rushville, represented the fifth district from 1847 to August 18, 1856, when he resigned, and again from 1861 to 1863, when he was elected United States Senator.

Joseph P. Hoge, (*d*) of Galena, represented the sixth district from 1843 to 1847.

*Thomas J. Turner, (*d*) of Freeport, represented the sixth district from 1847 to 1849.

Thompson Campbell, (*d*) of Galena, represented the sixth district from 1851 to 1853.

John J. Hardin, (*w*) of Jacksonville, represented the seventh district from 1843 to 1845.

Edward D. Baker, (*w*) of Springfield, represented the seventh district from 1845 to December 30, 1846, when he resigned, and the sixth from 1849 to 1851.

John Henry, (*w*) of Jacksonville, filled out the vacancy of Baker.

*Abraham Lincoln, (*w*) of Springfield, represented the seventh district from 1847 to 1849.

Thomas L. Harris, (*d*) of Petersburg, represented the seventh district from 1849 to 1851, and the sixth from 1855 to November 24, 1859, when he died.

*Richard Yates, (*w*) of Jacksonville, represented the seventh district from 1851 to 1853, and the sixth from 1853 to 1855.

* Afterwards a Republican.

The census of 1850 increased the representation from seven to nine.

*Elihu B. Washburne, (*w*) of Galena, represented the first district from 1853 to 1863, and the third from 1863 to March 9, 1869, when he resigned to accept the office of Minister to France.

James H. Woodworth, (*d*) of Chicago, represented the second district from 1855 to 1857.

John F. Farnsworth, (*r*) of Chicago, represented the second district from 1857 to 1861, and again from 1863 to 1873.

Isaac N. Arnold, (*r*) of Chicago, represented the second district from 1861 to 1863, and the first from 1863 to 1865.

Jesse O. Norton, (*r*) of Joliet, represented the third district from 1853 to 1857, and the sixth from 1863 to 1865.

Owen Lovejoy, (*r*) of Princeton, represented the third district from 1857 to 1863, and the fifth from 1863 to March, 1864, when he died.

James Knox, (*r*) of Knoxville, represented the fourth district from 1853 to 1857.

William Kellogg, (*r*) of Canton, represented the fourth district from 1857 to 1863.

Jacob C. Davis (*d*) filled out the vacancy of Richardson in the fifth district, from August 25, 1856, to 1857.

Isaac N. Morris, (*d*) of Quincy, represented the fifth district from 1857 to 1861.

Charles D. Hodges, (*d*) of Carrollton, filled out the vacancy of Harris in the sixth district from January 20, 1859, to March 3.

A. L. Knapp, (*d*) of Jerseyville, filled out the vacancy of McClernand in the sixth district from December 12, 1861, to 1863, and represented the tenth from 1863 to 1865.

* Afterwards a Republican.

James C. Allen, (*d*) of Palestine, represented the seventh district from 1853 to 1857, and the State-at-Large from 1863 to 1865.

Aaron Shaw, (*d*) of Lawrenceville, represented the seventh district from 1857 to 1859, and the sixteenth from 1883 to 1885.

James C. Robinson, (*d*) of Marshall, represented the seventh district from 1859 to 1863, and the eleventh from 1863 to 1865, and the eighth (Springfield) from 1871 to 1873, and the twelfth (Springfield) from 1873 to 1875.

*Lyman Trumbull, (*d*) of Belleville, was elected from the eighth district to the Thirty-fourth Congress, but resigned in 1855 to accept the office of United States Senator.

J. L. D. Morrison, (*d*) of Belleville, was elected to succeed Trumbull in the eighth district, and served one term.

Philip B. Fouke, (*d*) of Belleville, represented the eighth district from 1859 to 1863.

Samuel S. Marshall, (*d*) of McLeansboro, represented the ninth district from 1855 to 1859, and the eleventh from 1865 to 1873, and the nineteenth from 1873 to 1875.

†John A. Logan, (*d*) of Benton, represented the ninth district from 1859 to 1861, when he resigned, and, raising a regiment, went into the Union army; and the State-at-Large from 1867 to 1871, when he resigned to accept the office of United States Senator.

William J. Allen, (*d*) of Marion, filled out the vacancy of Logan in the ninth district, and represented the thirteenth from 1863 to 1865.

The census of 1860 increased the representation from nine to fourteen.

†Samuel W. Moulton, (*r*) of Shelbyville, represented the State-at-Large from 1865 to 1867, and the fifteenth district from 1881 to 1883, and the seventeenth from 1883 to 1885.

* Afterwards a Republican—now a Democrat.

† Afterwards a Republican.

‡ Now a Democrat.

Norman B. Judd, (*r*) of Chicago, represented the first district from 1867 to 1871.

Charles B. Farwell, (*r*) of Chicago, represented the first district from 1871 to 1873, and the third from 1873 to 1875—and he received the certificate of election to the Forty-fourth Congress; there was a contest, and the seat declared vacant; and he again represented the third district from 1881 to 1883.

Horatio C. Burchard, (*r*) of Freeport, represented the third district from 1869, as the successor of Washburne, to 1873, and the fifth from 1873 to 1879.

Chas. M. Harris, (*d*) of Oquawka, represented the fourth district from 1863 to 1865.

Abner C. Harding, (*r*) of Monmouth, represented the fourth district from 1865 to 1869.

John B. Hawley, (*r*) of Rock Island, represented the fourth district from 1869 to 1873, and the sixth from 1873 to 1875.

Ebon C. Ingersoll, (*r*) of Peoria, represented the fifth district, as the successor of Lovejoy, from 1864 to 1871.

Bradford N. Stevens, (*d*) of Princeton, represented the fifth district from 1871 to 1873.

Burton C. Cook, (*r*) of Ottawa, represented the sixth district from 1865 to 1871, when he resigned.

Henry Stapp, (*r*) of Joliet, filled out the vacancy of Cook, from December 4, 1871, to March 8, 1873.

John R. Eden, (*d*) of Sullivan, represented the seventh district from 1863 to 1865, and the fifteenth from 1873 to 1879.

Henry P. H. Bromwell, (*r*) of Charleston, represented the seventh district from 1865 to 1869.

Jesse H. Moore, (*r*) of Decatur, represented the seventh district from 1869 to 1873.

Shelby M. Cullom, (*r*) of Springfield, represented the eighth district from 1865 to 1871.

Lewis W. Ross, (*d*) of Lewiston, represented the ninth district from 1863 to 1869.

Thompson W. McNeely, (*d*) of Petersburg, represented the ninth district from 1869 to 1873.

Anthony Thornton, (*d*) of Shelbyville, represented the tenth district from 1865 to 1867.

Albert G. Burr, (*d*) of Carrollton, represented the tenth district from 1867 to 1871.

Edward Y. Rice, (*d*) of Hillsboro, represented the tenth district from 1871 to 1873.

William R. Morrison, (*d*) of Waterloo, represented the twelfth district from 1868 to 1865, and the seventeenth from 1873 to 1883, and the eighteenth from 1883 to 1885.

Jehu Baker, (*r*) of Belleville, represented the twelfth district from 1865 to 1869.

John B. Hay, (*r*) of Belleville, represented the twelfth district from 1869 to 1873.

Andrew J. Kuykendall, (*r*) of Vienna, represented the thirteenth district from 1865 to 1867.

Green B. Raum, (*r*) of Harrisburg, represented the thirteenth district from 1867 to 1869.

John M. Crebs, (*d*) of Carmi, represented the thirteenth district from 1869 to 1873.

John L. Beveridge, (*r*) of Evanston, filled out the vacancy of Logan, from the State-at-Large, from 1871 to 1873.

The census of 1870 increased the representation from fourteen to nineteen:

John B. Rice, (*r*) of Chicago, represented the first district from 1873 to December, 1874, when he died.

Bernard G. Caulfield, (*d*) of Chicago, succeeded Rice, and represented the first district from 1875 to 1877.

William Aldrich, (*r*) of Chicago, represented the first district from 1877 to 1883.

Jasper D. Ward, (*r*) of Chicago, represented the second district from 1873 to 1875.

Carter H. Harrison, (*d*) of Chicago, represented the second district from 1875 to 1879.

George R. Davis, (*r*) of Chicago, represented the second district from 1879 to 1883, and the third from 1883 to 1885.

John V. LeMoyné, (*d*) of Chicago, represented the third district from May 6, 1876, to 1877.

Lorenz Brentano, (*r*) of Chicago, represented the third district from 1877 to 1879.

Hiram Barber, Jr., (*r*) of Chicago, represented the third district from 1879 to 1881.

Stephen A. Hurlbut, (*r*) of Belvidere, represented the fourth district from 1873 to 1877.

William Lathrop, (*r*) of Rockford, represented the fourth district from 1877 to 1879.

John C. Sherwin, (*r*) of Geneva, represented the fourth district from 1879 to 1883.

Robert M. A. Hawk, (*r*) of Mt. Carroll, represented the fifth district from 1879 to 1882, when he died.

Thomas J. Henderson, (*r*) of Princeton, represented the sixth district from 1875 to 1883, and the seventh from 1883 to 1885.

Franklin Corwin, (*r*) of Peru, represented the seventh district from 1873 to 1875.

Alexander Campbell, (*g*) of LaSalle, represented the seventh district from 1875 to 1877.

Philip C. Hayes, (*r*) of Morris, represented the seventh district from 1877 to 1881.

William Cullen, (*r*) of Ottawa, represented the seventh district from 1881 to 1883, and the eighth from 1883 to 1885.

Greenbury L. Fort, (*r*) of Lacon, represented the eighth district from 1873 to 1881.

Lewis E. Payson, (*r*) of Pontiac, represented the eighth district from 1881 to 1883, and the ninth from 1883 to 1885.

Granville Barriere, (r) of Canton, represented the ninth district from 1873 to 1875.

Richard H. Whiting, (r) of Peoria, represented the ninth district from 1875 to 1877.

Thomas A. Boyd, (r) of Lewiston, represented the ninth district from 1877 to 1881.

John H. Lewis, (r) of Knoxville, represented the ninth district from 1881 to 1883.

William H. Ray, (r) of Rushville, represented the tenth district from 1873 to 1875.

John C. Bagby, (d) of Rushville, represented the tenth district from 1875 to 1877.

Benjamin F. Marsh, (r) of Warsaw, represented the tenth district from 1877 to 1883.

Robert M. Knapp, (d) of Jerseyville, represented the eleventh district from 1873 to 1875, and again from 1877 to 1879.

Scott Wike, (d) of Pittsfield, represented the eleventh district from 1875 to 1877.

James W. Singleton, (d) of Quincy, represented the eleventh district from 1879 to 1883.

William M. Springer, (d) of Springfield, represented the twelfth district from 1875 to 1883, and the thirteenth from 1883 to 1885.

John McNulta, (r) of Bloomington, represented the thirteenth district from 1873 to 1875.

Adlai E. Stevenson, (g) of Bloomington, represented the thirteenth district from 1875 to 1877, and again from 1879 to 1881.

Thomas F. Tipton, (r) of Bloomington, represented the thirteenth district from 1877 to 1879.

Deitrich C. Smith, (r) of Pekin, represented the thirteenth district from 1881 to 1883.

Joseph G. Cannon, (*r*) of Danville, represented the fourteenth district from 1878 to 1883, and the fifteenth from 1883 to 1885.

Albert P. Forsythe, (*g*) of Isabel, represented the fifteenth district from 1879 to 1881.

James S. Martin, (*r*) of Salem, represented the sixteenth district from 1873 to 1875.

Wm. A. J. Sparks, (*d*) of Carlyle, represented the sixteenth district from 1875 to 1883.

Isaac Clements, (*r*) of Carbondale, represented the eighteenth district from 1873 to 1875.

Wm. Hartzell, (*d*) of Chester, represented the eighteenth district from 1875 to 1879.

John R. Thomas, (*r*) of Metropolis, represented the eighteenth district from 1879 to 1883, and the twentieth from 1883 to 1885.

Wm. B. Anderson, (*g*) of Mt. Vernon, represented the nineteenth district from 1875 to 1877.

Richard W. Townshend, (*d*) of Shawneetown, represented the nineteenth district from 1877 to 1885.

The census of 1880 increased the representation from nineteen to twenty.

Ransom W. Dunham, (*r*) of Chicago, was elected to represent the first district from 1883 to 1885.

John F. Finerty, (*d*) of Chicago, was elected to represent the second district from 1883 to 1885.

Geo. E. Adams, (*r*) of Chicago, was elected to represent the fourth district from 1883 to 1885.

Ruben Ellwood, (*r*) of Sycamore, was elected to represent the fifth district from 1883 to 1885.

Robert R. Hitt, (*r*) of Mt. Morris, was elected to represent the fifth district from 1882 to 1883 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hawk, and the sixth district from 1883 to 1885.

Nicholas E. Worthington, (*d*) of Peoria, was elected to represent the tenth district from 1883 to 1885.

Wm. H. Neece, (*d*) of Macomb, was elected to represent the eleventh district from 1883 to 1885.

Jas. M. Riggs, (*d*) of Winchester, was elected to represent the twelfth district from 1883 to 1885.

Jonathan H. Rowell, (*r*) of Bloomington, was elected to represent the fourteenth district from 1883 to 1885.

SENATORS.

In December, 1818, Ninian Edwards, (*d*) of Edwardsville, was elected Senator for the unexpired term of the Fifteenth Congress which terminated in 1819; in 1819 he was re-elected and served until 1824, when he resigned.

John McLean, (*d*) of Shawneetown, was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Edwards, which terminated March 8, 1825.

In 1825, Elias Kent Kane, of Kaskaskia, was elected as the successor of McLean; in 1831, he was re-elected, and died December 12, 1835. The Governor appointed Wm. L. D. Ewing, of Vandalia, to fill the vacancy.

In 1837, Richard M. Young, (*d*) of Jonesboro, was elected to succeed Ewing.

In 1843, Sidney Breese, (*d*) of Carlyle, was elected to succeed Young.

In 1849, James Shields, (*d*) of Springfield, was elected to succeed Breese.

In 1855, *Lyman Trumbull, (*d*) of Belleville, now of Chicago, was elected to succeed Shields; in 1861 he was re-elected and again in 1867.

In 1873, Richard J. Oglesby, (*r*) of Decatur, was elected to succeed Trumbull.

In 1879, John A. Logan (*r*) of Carbondale, now of Chicago, was elected to succeed Oglesby.

*Trumbull became a Republican at the birth of the party, and continued to act with the Republicans until 1872.

Thus we have passed through the Senatorial seat first occupied by Ninian Edwards, from 1818 to March 3, 1885, when Logan's present term will expire. In the 67 years which will then have elapsed, ten different persons have held the office.

In December 1818, Jesse B. Thomas, (*d*) of Kaskaskia, was elected Senator for the unexpired term of the Fifteenth Congress, and was re-elected in 1823.

In 1829, John McLean, (*d*) of Shawneetown, was elected to succeed Thomas, but he died October 4, 1830. The Governor appointed David J. Baker, (*d*) of Kaskaskia, to fill the vacancy until the meeting of the General Assembly.

In 1830, John M. Robinson, (*d*) of Carmi, was elected to succeed Baker; in 1835 he was re-elected.

In 1841, Samuel McRoberts, (*d*) of Waterloo, was elected to succeed Robinson, but he died March 27, 1843. The Governor appointed James Semple, (*d*) of Alton, to fill the vacancy until the meeting of the General Assembly, when he was elected to fill out the term.

In 1847, Stephen A. Douglas, (*d*) of Quincy, was elected to succeed Semple; he was re-elected in 1853 and again in 1859, but died June 3, 1861. The Governor appointed O. H. Browning, (*r*) of Quincy, to fill the vacancy until the meeting of the General Assembly.

In 1863, Wm. A. Richardson, (*d*) of Quincy, was elected to succeed Browning.

In 1865, Richard Yates, (*r*) of Jacksonville, was elected to succeed Richardson.

In 1871, John A. Logan, (*r*) of Chicago, was elected to succeed Yates.

In 1877, David Davis, (*i*) of Bloomington, was elected to succeed Logan.

In 1883, Shelby M. Cullom, (*r*) of Springfield, was elected to succeed Davis.

We have reviewed the Senatorial seat first filled by Thomas down to the election of Cullom, whose term of

office will expire March 3, 1889. In the 71 years which will then have elapsed, thirteen different persons will have filled the office.

McLean and Logan are the only Senators who have occupied both seats. Shields was a Senator from three States,—he represented Minnesota in the unexpired term of the Thirty-fifth Congress, from May 12, 1857, to March 3, 1859, and Missouri from January 27, 1879 to March 3, 1879, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lewis V. Bogy.

Of all the persons who have represented the State in the United States Senate, but five are living—Trumbull, Oglesby, David Davis and the present incumbents.

Of the birth-places of our Senators, nine were born in Kentucky, Robinson, Ewing, Young, Semple, Richardson, Browning, Yates, Oglesby, Cullom; two in Maryland, Edwards, Davis; two in New York, Kane, Breese; two in Connecticut, Baker, Trumbull; two in Illinois, McRoberts, Logan; one in Ohio, Thomas; one in Vermont, Douglas; one in Ireland, Shields; one in North Carolina, McLean.

From 1833 to the close of the Thirty-fourth Congress, in 1857, all the Representatives had been Democrats, except John T. Stuart, John J. Hardin, Edward D. Baker, John Henry, Abraham Lincoln, Richard Yates, Elihu B. Washburne, Jesse O. Norton, and James Knox, all of whom were Whigs. From 1857 to 1863, the close of the Thirty-seventh Congress, the political complexion of the delegation was five Democrats and four Republicans; from 1863 to 1865, eight Democrats and six Republicans; from 1865 to 1869, eleven Republicans and three Democrats; from 1869 to 1871, ten Republicans and four Democrats; from 1871 to 1873, nine Republicans, four Democrats and one Greenbacker; from 1873 to 1875, thirteen Republicans and six Democrats; from 1875 to 1877, six Republicans, ten Democrats and three Greenbackers; from 1877 to 1879,

eleven Republicans and eight Democrats; from 1879 to 1881, twelve Republicans, five Democrats and two Green-backers; from 1881 to 1883, thirteen Republicans and six Democrats; from 1883 to 1884, eleven Republicans and nine Democrats.

In the Senate, the State was represented exclusively by Democrats until 1855, when Lyman Trumbull was elected to succeed Gen. Shields, as an anti-Nebraska Democrat. In 1859, Stephen A. Douglas was re-elected as a Democrat, and in 1863, William A. Richardson was elected as a Democrat, as the successor of Douglas. Since that time the State has been represented in that body by Republicans, except in the case of David Davis, who was elected by a coalition of Democrats, Republicans and Independents, and he remained independent of the respective political parties during his term.

Among these names will be observed many illustrious men, and we doubt if there is a State in the Union, old or young, that can show a grander record as to statesmanship.

During the war, Illinois had in Congress many able, sagacious and patriotic men, among whom we are pleased to mention Isaac N. Arnold, John F. Farnsworth, Owen Lovejoy, Ebon C. Ingersoll, and Elihu B. Washburne, of the House, and Lyman Trumbull and O. H. Browning, of the Senate. Perhaps the men who had as much to do with the legislation of that period as any others, were Lyman Trumbull and Elihu B. Washburne. Mr. Trumbull, as chairman of the Committee on Judiciary, was the peer of any man in the Senate, and wielded a powerful influence in shaping the war and reconstruction measures; while Mr. Washburne, by his long and useful service in the House, was called the "Father of the House," and exercised a marked influence in those perilous times. But Mr. Trumbull lost favor with the Republican party when

he refused to vote for the impeachment of President Johnson, in 1868, since which time he has affiliated with the Democratic party. The history of the impeachment trial has never been impartially written, and in the light of to-day, it is not unjust to say, that the vote of Lyman Trumbull may have stayed the political madness of the hour, and preserved the Nation from establishing a bad precedent.

CHAPTER LV.

STATE FUNDS.

**Disbursement of State Funds from December 1, 1839, to October 1, 1882—
Legislative—Executive—Judicial—Debt for Public Works—Educational
—Internal Improvement Debt—Miscellaneous—Total—State Debt—Its
Payment.**

The subjoined table, showing the amount of the State debt from January 1, 1840, to January 1, 1881, when it became extinct, and the disbursement of funds from December 1, 1839, to October 1, 1882, has been compiled by the Auditor of Public Accounts expressly for our use, and it is invaluable as showing the amount expended by the State for all purposes, from and to the periods indicated, inclusive, and the various purposes for which the revenues of the State have been and are now expended.

In explanation of the classification of disbursements shown in this table, it may be said that the amounts reported under the head of legislative, includes the pay of members and officers of the General Assembly, the expense of printing and binding legislative reports, journals, bills, laws, and the general incidental expenses connected with the General Assembly.

The amounts reported under the head of executive, comprehend the salary of the Governor and other State officers, the expenses of the various State departments which includes clerk hire, stationery, postage, printing, binding, light, fuel, porters, janitors and general repairs.

Under the head of judicial, is placed the salaries of the Judges of the Supreme Court, Judges of the Superior and Circuit Courts of Cook county, the Judges of the Appellate court, the Judges of the various Circuit Courts, the State's Attorneys, the Reporter of the Supreme Court, and the expenses of the various divisions of the Supreme and Appellate Courts.

Under the head of debt for public works is reported the amount expended by the State in the general system of internal improvements.

The amounts reported under the head of educational, includes the disbursements by the State for the support of the common school system, the expenses of the Normal Universities and the Industrial University.

Under the head of miscellaneous, is embraced the expenses of the State Government, which have no particular classification. In these amounts are included the expenditures during the war, and for charitable, penal, and reformatory institutions, and on account of the new State House; the larger amounts are chiefly on account of indebtedness incurred during the war, and for expenditures in the erection of the new State House.

Under the head of State debt is shown the original amount of the State debt January 1, 1840, which was \$12,000,000, and which continued to increase until 1853, when it reached the frightful sum of \$16,724,177.41. In 1855, it was reduced to \$13,994,614.93; 1860, to \$10,346,-017.06; 1870, to \$4,890,937.30; 1880, to \$281,059.11, and the report for 1882 shows that the debt had become utterly extinct.

No State in the Union shows a more honorable record in dealing with its creditors than Illinois. When the law was passed, which suspended the internal improvement work, there was a strong disposition on the part of some of the people and the law-makers to repudiate the debt for the reason that they believed it was beyond their power to pay it, but a few brave men said no, and the result has been that the obligations of the State have been met to the uttermost farthing, and its credit maintained at home and abroad. When this balance of \$12,000,000 was rendered, the Auditor's report shows that there were but 7,964,000 acres of land in the State which were subject to taxation, and the total assessed value of all real and personal property for taxable purposes was but \$116,466, and the receipts of the State treasury during the year 1840 were only \$163,509, and the disbursements were \$209,114, which will go far to explain how the debt was augmented from \$12,000,000 to \$16,724,177.41.

In a further examination of the records of the Auditor's office, we have found that during the year 1818, the total amount received into the State treasury for that year was \$8,017.69, and that the disbursements for all purposes were \$7,902.28, leaving a balance in the State treasury of \$115.41. With the change in the form of government there came as a natural result, an increase in the receipts and disbursements of the revenues, but it was gradual and did not assume any great magnitude until about the year 1840, the date from which the table has been compiled.

In contrast with the condition of the State then and now, we draw from the records of the Auditor of Public Accounts these further facts: The number of acres of land assessed for taxation in 1880, was 34,392,324. The number of town and city lots assessed for taxation in the same year, was 862,624. The total assessed value of all property in the State for taxable purposes for the same year, was \$786,616,394. The receipts into the State

treasury during the year 1880, were \$3,200,000. The total disbursements for the same year were \$3,150,000. With the State entirely out of debt, and so grand a showing in point of wealth, no reader, who is a citizen of Illinois, can contemplate the situation without feelings of pride and pleasure at the advancement the State has made.

We have stated in this connection that the State paid the debt incurred under the internal improvement system to the uttermost farthing, principal and interest, as the records of the Treasurer and Auditor of Public Accounts fully attest; yet it may seem strange that, in the face of this declaration, the biennial report of the Auditor of Public Accounts for 1882, shows, on page 84, that the claim of Macallister & Stebbins, filed May 11, 1880, for \$409,168.80, styled old State debt, was dismissed by the Commission of Claims. Now that the reader may understand the nature of this decision, and the character of the claim, we quote the preamble and section 1 of an act passed by the General Assembly of 1849, approved February 10, in which it is plainly set forth how the so-called Macallister & Stebbins bonds were issued, the exact amount of money obtained on them, and the character of the settlement made between the State and Macallister & Stebbins. The title of the act reads thus:

"An act to prevent loss to the State upon the Macallister & Stebbins bonds."

The preamble is in these words:

"WHEREAS, Macallister & Stebbins, of New York, did, on the 17th June, 1841, receive of John D. Whiteside, Fund Commissioner of Illinois, eight hundred and four interest bonds, of one thousand dollars each, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, and dated May 14, 1841, reimbursable at any time after the year 1865. upon which the said Macallister & Stebbins, about the 25th June, 1841, advanced two hundred and sixty-one thousand four hundred and sixty dollars and eighty-three cents; and whereas, the said John D. Whiteside, near the said 25th June, delivered to the said Macallister & Stebbins

thirty internal improvement bonds, of one thousand dollars each, upon which they agreed to make a further advance to the State in case it was necessary, to pay the July interest for the year 1841—but such advance never was made, as it was not required to pay said interest. About the 1st of July, 1841, the said John D. Whiteside gave to the said Macallister & Stebbins an order on Nevins, Townsend & Co., of New York, for forty-one bonds of one thousand dollars each; about the 27th day of October, 1841, the said Macallister & Stebbins received of Michael Kennedy thirty-eight thousand two hundred and fifteen dollars and forty-four cents of State scrip, which was placed to the credit of the State, as well as the thirty bonds which they received from the said John D. Whiteside, and also the forty-one bonds received from Nevins, Townsend & Co.—the three last mentioned sums, one hundred and nine thousand two hundred and fifteen dollars and forty-four cents over and above the eight hundred and four interest bonds first received by them—making in all, the sum of nine hundred and thirteen thousand two hundred and fifteen dollars forty-four cents, which the said Macallister & Stebbins acknowledged in their account current rendered the State at the session of the General Assembly of 1842, (see report, page 197), was held as security for the two hundred and sixty-one thousand five hundred and sixty dollars eighty-three cents, actually advanced as aforesaid, that sum being but twenty-eight and sixty-four-hundredths of a cent upon the dollar so as aforesaid received by them."

Section one of this act reads as follows:

"That upon the surrender to the State by the said Macallister & Stebbins, or any person authorized by them, of the eight hundred and four interest bonds of one thousand dollars each, with their coupons, hypothecated with them, on 17th June, 1841, and now outstanding against the State, and also other internal improvement bonds and scrip subsequently obtained, and amounting at the time they obtained them to the sum of one hundred and nine thousand two hundred and fifteen dollars forty-four cents, over and above the eight hundred and four interest bonds first received by them as aforesaid, with the coupons on said bonds, and interest on said scrip from its date to the time of settlement under this act, it shall be the duty of the Governor to issue bonds of not less than one thousand dollars each, and payable after the

year 1865, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, and payable semi-annually in the city of New York, pro rata out of the interest fund, and the balance of the interest to be paid out of the State treasury. The amount of bonds to be issued by the Governor as aforesaid to be equal to the balance remaining due the said Macallister & Stebbins, principal and interest, at the rate of seven per cent. per annum, (as per contract) upon the advance of two hundred and sixty-one thousand five hundred sixty dollars eighty-three cents, from the date of said advance up to the time of settlement under the provisions of this act. And should the said Macallister & Stebbins not surrender to the Governor all of the eight hundred and four bonds, the amount they shall fail to surrender, and being the same heretofore taken up by the State, shall be credited to the State and deducted from the amount found due from the time they shall have been taken up by the State, at the rate of twenty-six cents on the dollar: *Provided*, that no bonds shall be issued by the Governor as aforesaid, except upon the surrender to the State of the bonds of 1865, or of the internal improvement bonds, or of the scrip as aforesaid, to an amount which the whole amount of bonds and scrip now outstanding bear to the amount of new bonds which may be issued, upon the settlement of the account of Macallister & Stebbins—it being the intention of this bill to authorize the Governor to issue liquidation bonds at any time when an amount not less than twenty thousand dollars of the aforesaid bonds, deposited with Macallister & Stebbins, shall be surrendered by them or by their order." (See Public Laws of 1849.)

Under a supplemental act, approved February 16, 1865, the holders of the so-called Macallister & Stebbins bonds were required to surrender the same by July 1, 1865, under certain penalties, or by January 1, 1866, under other and heavier penalties. (See Public Laws of 1865.) Under this act all these bonds have been called in, and the just amount due on them paid in full; hence there is no foundation in fact for the claim filed in the name of Macallister & Stebbins, and we are more than warranted in saying that the State paid in full, principal and interest, the enormous debt incurred under the internal improvement system of 1837.

Disbursements of Funds of the State of Illinois from Dec. 1, 1889, to Oct. 1, 1892, compiled and classified by Auditor; also Statement of State Debt.

Time.	Legislative Executive.	Judicial.	Debt for Public Works.	Education.	Miscellaneous.	Total.	State Debt.
							Amount.
Dec. 1, 1889, to Dec. 1, 1890.							\$33,428,000
1, 1890:							15,000,000
1, 1891:							16,724,177
1, 1892:							13,924,614
1, 1893:							12,851,144
1, 1894:							11,158,453
1, 1895:							10,546,017
1, 1896:							9,117,959
1, 1897:							8,697,306
1, 1898:							8,094,688
1, 1899:							6,025,160
1, 1900:							1,780,972
1, 1901:							1,450,500
1, 1902:							3,657,519
1, 1903:							361,069
1, 1904:							None.
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CHAPTER LVI.

SPEECH OF ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

Nominating James G. Blaine for the Presidency, at the Republican National Convention, at Cincinnati, June, 1876.

Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow; so am I; but if any man nominated by this convention can not carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this convention can not carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by seventy-five thousand majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory.

The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intelligence, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman; they demand a reformer after, as well as before, the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs—with the wants of the people, with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States; one who knows enough to know that the National debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world can not redeem a single dollar; one who knows enough to know that all

the money must be made, not by law, but by labor; one who knows enough to know that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money, and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together; that when they come, they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire, greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil.

This money has to be dug out of the earth. You can not make it by passing resolutions in a political convention.

The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this government should protect every citizen, at home and abroad; who knows that any government that will not defend its defenders, and protect its protectors, is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorce-ment of church and school. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a confederate congress. The man who has, in full, heaped and rounded measure, all these splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past, and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain beneath her flag—such a man is James G. Blaine.

For the Republican host, led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat.

This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the past; with the sacred legends of liberty—a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for a man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander—for the man who has snatched the mask of

Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; for the man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat.

Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor. For the Republican party to desert this gallant leader now, is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle.

James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the convention, in the name of the great Republic, the only Republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the field of battle, and in the name of those who perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers, Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country, that prince of parliamentarians—that leader of leaders—James G. Blaine.

CHAPTER LVII.

ILLINOIS AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Positions held in the National Government—Commissioner of the Land Office—Clerk of the Lower House of Congress—Presidency—Marshal of the District of Columbia—Associate Justice of the Supreme Court—Secretary of the Interior—Assistant Attorney-General—Secretary of War—Commander of the Armies—Lieutenant-General and General—Secretary of State—Assistant Postmaster-General—Solicitor of the Treasury—Commissioner of Internal Revenue—Assistant Secretary of the Treasury—Assistant Secretary of the Interior—Vice-Presidency—Public Printer.

During the sixty-six years Illinois has been a member of the National Union, she has occupied a conspicuous

place in the government of the Nation, and we note, chronologically, the various positions her citizens have filled. President Polk appointed Richard M. Young Commissioner of the Land Office, January 6, 1847, and he was Clerk of the House of Representatives from April 17, 1850, to December 1, 1851. James C. Allen was Clerk of the House of Representatives from December 6, 1857, to February 3, 1860.

Abraham Lincoln was elected President in 1860, and again in 1864. Ward H. Lamon was Marshal of the District of Columbia from 1861, to June, 1865. David Davis was Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States from December 8, 1862, to 1879, when he resigned to accept the office of United States Senator. Isaac N. Arnold was Fifth Auditor from April 29, 1865, to September 26, 1866. O. H. Browning was Secretary of the Interior, under President Johnson, from September 1, 1866, to March 1868, a part of which time he was acting Attorney General. John M. Schofield was Secretary of War, under President Johnson, from May 30, 1868, to the close of the Administration. T. Lyle Dickey was Assistant Attorney-General, under President Johnson, from July, 1868, to the close of the Administration.

Illinois has furnished, in the person of one man, U. S. Grant, Commander of all the armies of the United States, and the Lieutenant-General and General of the same. Grant was elected President in 1868, and again in 1872. Elihu B. Washburne was appointed Secretary of State by President Grant. John A. Rawlins was Secretary of War under President Grant. Giles A. Smith was Second Assistant Postmaster-General in 1869. John L. Routt was Second Assistant Postmaster-General in 1871. Bluford Wilson was Solicitor of the Treasury under the Administration of Grant. Green B. Raum was Commissioner of Internal Revenue from

August 2, 1876, to April 30, 1883. John B. Hawley was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under the Administration of Hayes. Horatio C. Burchard was appointed by President Hayes Director of the Mint. Robert T. Lincoln was appointed Secretary of War by President Garfield. M. L. Joslyn was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Interior by President Arthur. David Davis was President *pro tempore* of the Senate and acting Vice-President from October 13, 1881, to March 3, 1883. S. P. Rounds was appointed, by President Arthur, Public Printer in April, 1882.

Of the thirty-eight States, but nine have been honored with the Presidency, and but two have held the office more times than Illinois. Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe were from Virginia, each of whom served two terms. Vice-President Tyler was from Virginia, and he succeeded to the Presidency in April, 1841, after the death of Harrison. Jackson and Polk were from Tennessee, Jackson was twice elected and Polk once. Vice-President Johnson, of Tennessee, became President in April, 1865, on the death of Lincoln by assassination.

Of the other States, John Adams and John Quincy Adams were from Massachusetts; Van Buren was from New York; Vice-Presidents Fillmore and Arthur were from New York; Fillmore became President in July, 1850, on the death of Taylor, and Arthur in September, 1881, on the death of Garfield, by assassination. Pierce was from New Hampshire; Buchanan from Pennsylvania; Hayes and Garfield from Ohio.

The Presidential chair has been occupied, up to this period, by seventeen different persons, who were elected President, and by four who were elected Vice-President.

It will ever remain a proud fact in history, that Illinois furnished the Nation, during the momentous struggle of 1861-65, with a statesman and a warrior whose

ability, sagacity and patriotism were equal to the greatest emergency, and that they carried the country triumphantly through the most stupendous rebellion that has ever existed in the tide of time.

CHAPTER LVIII.

SPEECH OF ROSCOE CONKLING.

Nominating Ulysses S. Grant for the Presidency before the National Republican Convention, at Chicago, in June, 1880.

" 'And when asked what State he hails from,
Our sole reply shall be,
He hails from Appomattox
And its famous apple-tree.'

" In obedience to instructions which I should never dare to disregard, expressing also my own firm convictions, I rise, Mr. President, in behalf of the State of New York, to propose a nomination with which the country and the Republican party can grandly win. The election before us is the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide, for many years, whether the country shall be Republican or Cossack. The supreme need of the hour is not a candidate who can carry Michigan. All Republican candidates can do that. The need is not of a candidate popular in the Territories, because the Territories have no vote. The need is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States. Not the doubtful States of the North alone, but also the doubtful States of the South, which we have heard, if I understood aright, ought to take but little or no part here, because the South has nothing to give, but everything to receive. The need which urges itself on the conscience and reason of the Convention is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States, both North and South. And believing that he, more surely than any other man, can

carry New York against any opponent, and can carry not only the North, but several States of the South, New York is for Ulysses S. Grant.

"Never defeated—in peace or in war—his name is the most illustrious borne by living man.

"His services attest his greatness, and the country—nay, the world—knows them by heart. His fame was earned not alone by things written and said, but by the arduous greatness of things done; and perils and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the Nation leans with such confidence and trust. Never having had a policy to enforce against the will of the people, he never betrayed a cause or a friend, and the people will never desert or betray him. Standing on the highest eminence of human distinction, modest, firm, simple, and self-poised, having filled all lands with his renown, he has seen not only the high-born and the titled, but the poor and lowly, in the uttermost ends of the earth, rise and uncover before him. He has studied the needs and the defects of many systems of government, and he has returned a better American than ever, with a wealth of knowledge and experience added to the hard common sense which shone so conspicuously in all the fierce light that beat upon him during sixteen years the most trying, the most portentous, the most perilous in the Nation's history.

"Vilified and reviled, ruthlessly aspersed by unnumbered presses, not in other lands, but in his own, assaults upon him have seasoned and strengthened his hold on the public heart. Calumny's ammunition has all been exploded; the powder has all been burned once—its force is spent—and the name of Grant will glitter, a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the Republic, when those who have tried to tarnish it have mouldered in forgotten graves; and when their memories and their epitaphs have vanished utterly.

"Never elated by success, never depressed by adversity, he has ever, in peace as in war, shown the very genius of common sense. The terms he presented for Lee's surrender foreshadowed the wisest prophecies and principles of true reconstruction. Victor in the greatest war of modern times, he quickly signalized his aversion to war and his love for peace by an arbitration of international disputes, which stands the wisest, the most majestic example of its kind in the world's diplomacy.

"When inflation, at the hight of its popularity and frenzy, had swept both houses of Congress, it was the veto of Grant, single and alone, which overthrew expansion, and cleared the way for specie resumption. To him, immeasurably more than any other man, is due the fact that every paper dollar is at last as good as gold.

"With him as our leader, we shall have no defensive campaign. We shall have nothing to explain away. We shall have no apologies to make. The shafts and arrows have all been aimed at him, and they lie, broken and harmless, at his feet.

"Life, liberty and property will find a safeguard in him. When he said of the colored men in Florida, 'Wherever I am, they may come also,' he meant that, had he the power, the poor dwellers in the cabins of the South should no longer be driven in terror from the homes of their childhood and the graves of their murdered dead. When he refused to receive Dennis Kearney in California, he meant that communism, lawlessness and disorder, although it might stalk high-headed and dictate law to a whole city, would always find a foe in him. He meant that, popular or unpopular, he would hew to the line of right, let the chips fly where they may.

"His integrity, his common sense, his courage, his unequaled experience, are the qualities offered to his country. The only argument—the only one—that the wit of man or the stress of politics has devised, is one which would dumbfounder Solomon, because Solomon thought there was nothing new under the sun. Having tried Grant twice and found him faithful, we are told that we must not, even after an interval of years, trust him again. My countrymen!—my countrymen!—what stultification does not such a fallacy involve. The American people exclude Jefferson Davis from public trust. Why? Because he was the arch-traitor and would-be destroyer. And now the same people is asked to ostracise Grant, and not to trust him! Why? Why? I repeat. Because he was the arch-preserved of his country, and because, not only in war, but twice as Civil Magistrate, he gave his highest, noblest efforts to the Republic. Is this an electioneering juggle or is it hypocrisy's masquerade? There is no field of human activity, responsibility or reason in which rational beings object to an agent because he has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting. There is, I say, no department of human reason in which sane men reject an agent because he has had experience, making him

exceptionally competent and fit. From the man who shoes your horse to the lawyer who tries your cause, the officer who manages your railway or your mill, the doctor into whose hands you give your life, or the minister who seeks to save your soul—what man do you reject because by his works you have known him, and found him faithful and fit?

"What makes the Presidential office an exception to all things else in the common sense to be applied to selecting its incumbent? Who dares to put fetters on that free choice and judgment which is the birth-right of the American people? Can it be said that Grant has used official power and place to perpetuate his term? He has no place, and official power has not been used for him. Without patronage, without emissaries, without committees, without bureaus, without telegraph wires running from his house or from the seats of influence to this Convention, without appliances, without electioneering contrivances, without effort on his part, Grant's name is on his country's lips. He is struck at by the whole Democratic party, because his nomination is the death-blow of Democratic success. He is struck at by others, who find an offense and disqualification in the very services he has rendered and the very experience he has gained. Show me a better man. Name one, and I am answered. But do not point as a disqualification to the very experience which makes this man fit beyond all others.

"There is no 'third term' in the case, and the pretense will die with the political dog-days that gendered it. One week after the Democratic Convention we shall have heard the last of this rubbish about a 'third term.' Nobody now is really disquieted about a third term except those hopelessly longing for a first term, and their dupes and co-adjutors. Without effort or intrigue on his part, he is the candidate whose friends have never threatened to bolt unless this convention did as they said. He is a Republican who never wavers. He and his friends stand by the creed and the candidate of the Republican party. They hold the rightful rule of the majority as the very essence of their faith against not only the common enemy, but against the charlatans, jayhawkers, tramps and guerillas who deploy between the lines and forage, now on one side and then on the other. The convention is master of a supreme opportunity. It can name the next President of the United States. It can make sure of his election. It can make sure not only of his election, but of his certain and peaceful inauguration.

"It can assure a Republican majority in the Senate and House of Representatives. More than all, it can break that power which dominates and mildews the South. It can overthrow an organization whose very existence is a standing protest against progress.

"The purpose of the Democratic party is spoils. Its very hope and existence is a solid South. Its success is a menace to order and prosperity. This convention can overthrow and disintegrate these hurtful forces. It can dissolve and emancipate a distracted 'solid South.' It can speed the Nation in a career of grandeur eclipsing all past achievements. Gentlemen, we have only to listen above the din and look beyond the dust of an hour, to behold the Republican party announcing, with its ensigns resplendent with illustrious achievements, marching to certain and lasting victory with its greatest Marshal at its head."

CHAPTER LIX.

OUR STATE BANKS.

What the People Lost when they went into Liquidation.

Next in importance to the change which took place in the political status of the negro on the advent of the Republican party into power in the State and Nation, was the overthrow of our State banking system. At the time the war ensued there were one hundred and ten of these institutions in operation, with eleven suspended.

The more remote the banks were from the commercial centers the better they were supposed to be. But when the financial crash of 1861 came, but few of them stood the test of honesty and fair dealing. The officers closed their doors with impunity, leaving the bill-holders to help themselves as best they could. Even in the best days of

their existence business men were compelled to keep in their possession all the known counterfeit detectives then printed, and they were legion. First, for the purpose of judging as to the genuineness of the notes, and, secondly, to learn their commercial value, which varied in amount from nothing to par. During the war all these banks went into liquidation. Their circulation, November 30, 1860, as shown by the biennial report of the Auditor of Public Accounts, was \$12,820,694. The records of the Auditor's office show that in closing up these banks there was a loss of 35 per cent. on the dollar, amounting in the aggregate to \$4,312,242.

The older citizens will fully attest the truth of our remarks regarding the character of these banks, and we imagine they would as soon think of the re-enslavement of the colored man as to consider the question of returning to the State banking system.

CHAPTER LX,

PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY.

In 1867, a society was organized in Washington City, which was known as the Patrons of Husbandry, and in 1873, the organization gained a strong foot-hold in Illinois. Its object was to do away with what were termed "middle men," which it claimed would enable the people to buy their supplies of first hands and at greatly reduced rates; and to compel railroads to carry a single bushel of grain or a single hog to market at the same rate of a car load. Political demagogues took hold of the organization and it became widespread, and the excitement which

followed resulted in the election of a General Assembly which passed laws relating to the business traffic of railroads, which came near bankrupting every railroad company in the State; and an attempt was made to dictate the election of the Judiciary. Judge C. B. Lawrence was defeated in his candidacy for re-election to the supreme bench in the Fifth district, by A. M. Craig, through the influence of the Patrons of Husbandry, and a vigorous effort was made in the Second district to defeat the re-election of Judge John Scholfield, but it signally failed. In reply to a general letter addressed to all the candidates for Judge, by the Patrons of Husbandry, requiring them to define their position upon questions relating to the control of corporations, Mr. Scholfield closed a manly letter in these words: "I will never be a Judge to record the pre-determined decrees of either corporations or individuals." But fortunately the sober second thought came over the people, and these mischievous and unjust laws were so modified by legislation, and the courts, as not to operate injuriously upon our railroad system; and the Patrons of Husbandry is remembered only as one of the follies of the age.

CHAPTER LXI.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION.

The control of the traffic of spirituous liquors has ever been a source of great concern to a very large portion of our law-abiding citizens, and the question has been presented to our law-makers in many ways; sometimes in

the form of an application for a prohibitory law; sometimes for a low-license law; sometimes for a high-license law; sometimes for an amendment to the constitution, allowing women the right to vote upon the question of license, and sometimes for an amendment to the constitution prohibiting the manufacture and sale of spirituous or malt liquors as a beverage; and hence there has been, from first to last, much legislation upon the subject.

In 1851, the General Assembly passed what is known as the "quart law," the purpose of which was to do away with what were termed "dram shops." This did not meet the demands of the people, and in 1855 the General Assembly passed a prohibitory act. It was submitted to a vote of the people of the State, and rejected. Since then we have had the license system and local option; but all the while there has been more or less agitation in favor of prohibition; but no General Assembly has seemed willing to allow the people to vote upon an amendment to the constitution giving women the right to vote upon the question of license or of amendment to the constitution, so as to prohibit the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors as a beverage.

In March, 1879, a committee of ladies, representing the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, waited upon the General Assembly with the view of securing the passage of a law allowing women to vote in matters relating to the sale of spirituous or malt liquors as a beverage. The following persons composed that committee:

Miss Francis E. Willard, president of W. C. T. U. of Illinois; Mrs. T. B. Corse, president of Chicago W. C. T. U.; Mrs. L. A. Hagans, Mrs. Willis A. Barnes, Mrs. C. H. Case, Mrs. D. J. True, Chicago; Mrs. Prof. Fry and Mrs. A. R. Riggs, of Bloomington; Mrs. C. H. St. John, of Eureka; Mrs. M. H. Villars, of Pana; Miss Mary A. West, of Galesburg; Mrs. E. W. Kirkpatrick, of Monmouth;

Mrs. H. A. Calkins and Mrs. E. G. Hibben, of Peoria; Mrs. M. L. Wells, Mrs. R. Beach and Mrs. H. A. Allyn, of Springfield; Mrs. R. Greenlee, Mrs. M. A. Cummings, Mrs. J. B. Hobbs and Miss Lucia Kimball, of Chicago; Mrs. G. H. Read, of Bloomington; Mrs. H. W. Harwood and Mrs. H. C. Cullom, of Joliet; Mrs. S. B. Mooney, of Pana; Mrs. S. M. I. Henry, of Rockford; and Mrs. M. A. Taliafero, of Keithsburg.

The committee was armed with a petition which contained the signatures of 80,000 voters and 100,000 women. On the 6th of March, on behalf of the ladies, the petition was presented to the House of Representatives by Andrew Hinds, of Stephenson, in an address of some length, and on motion of Solomon P. Hopkins, of Cook, Miss Willard and Mrs. Foster, a lawyer, of Clinton, Iowa, were invited to address the House. This was the first time a woman was ever permitted to speak in an Illinois legislative body.

Subsequently, a bill was prepared and introduced into the House, providing an amendment to the constitution to allow women over 21 years to be registered the same as voters, and further providing that before a saloon-keeper could open a saloon he should be able to prove to the municipal authorities that he had secured the signatures of a majority of both men and women, over 21 years of age, in the community in which he proposed to do business. Mr. Hinds presented the bill, and was manfully supported by many of the members. On the 30th of May it reached a third reading, when it was lost, by a vote of 53 yeas to 55 nays.

On the 10th of April, the same petition was presented to the Senate by the same committee, through Mr. Taliafero. An objection being made to allowing the ladies to speak while the Senate was in session, on motion, a recess was taken for thirty minutes, 24 Senators voting

for, and 19 against. The time was occupied by Miss Willard in an address of much earnestness, and here the question rested for that session.

At the first session of the General Assembly of 1881, the same bill was introduced, with a similar fate. But although the Woman's Christian Temperance Union met with two signal defeats, their labors bore good fruit. They stirred the people all over the State to action, and when the General Assembly of 1883 came together, one of the very first bills introduced was that of Representative Harper, fixing a uniform system of license at \$500. It became a party measure, the Republicans favoring its passage, and the Democrats opposing. It continued the subject of earnest discussion during the entire session, and on the 8th of June, passed the House by a bare constitutional majority. The journals of the House show that 70 Republicans and 9 Democrats voted for the bill, and that 51 Democrats and 4 Republicans voted against it.

The bill passed the Senate June 15, by a vote of 30 ayes to 20 noes—29 Republicans and 1 Democrat voted for it, and 19 Democrats and 1 Republican against it. An hour after the passage of the bill it received the approval of Gov. Hamilton, who had heartily co-operated with the friends of the measure, in securing its passage, from the first.

The validity of the law has been passed upon by the Supreme Court of the State, which body pronounced it constitutional, which has removed all doubts as to its enforcement.

CHAPTER LXII.

INCIDENTS AND ANECDOTES.

Owen Lovejoy Egged in Bloomington—"Will the Sheriff Call Mr. Pfirrimmer"—Wentworth and Browning—"Till He was Conscripted"—U. F. Linder and the "Little Doctor"—"Celestial Meridian of 36° 30'"—"Not According to Jefferson, but the Gentleman from Jefferson"—"I thought I would Let You Make a Water-Dog of Him"—How Col. Reuben Loomis was killed—How Pinkney H. Walker became a Justice of the Supreme Court—An Exciting Political Episode—"He Knew Him before the Flood"—"There is no Use of this Investigation"—"I was Born a Barefooted Boy"—"Tom Needles and John Bunn Know to D-n Much to Play Governor"—"Wonderful Moral Reformation"—"Tell Old Hilliard to Come and See Me Devilish Quick"—"If they will Let Me Out with as Good Character as I Had."

OWEN LOVEJOY EGGED IN BLOOMINGTON.

In 1840, and while the pro-slavery mob at Alton was still fresh in the minds of the people, Owen Lovejoy had an appointment at Bloomington to deliver an anti-slavery address. Abolitionists were not very popular then in any portion of Illinois, but it was thought he would have no trouble in being heard at Bloomington; but when he reached the Court House, from which place he was announced to speak, it was found that the doors had been locked against him, by order of the County Commissioners. He had been accompanied thither by George Dietrich, Job Cusey and his son John, then a youth of some fifteen years. Mr. Dietrich was a Democrat, but being a member of the same church in which Mr. Lovejoy was a preacher, he felt that Mr. Lovejoy was entitled to some attention, and hence was found in his company, but it is said that Dietrich never voted the Democratic ticket after that day. On their return from the court house they were assaulted with eggs, which was highly enjoyed by the

bystanders. Seventeen years after that time, Owen Lovejoy represented the city of Bloomington in Congress, and the lad, John Cusey, who had been ostracised for having been found in the company of an Abolitionist, has since represented McLean county in the State Senate, and is now a member of the State Board of Equalization from that Congressional district.

"WILL THE SHERIFF CALL MR. PFFRIMMER?"

Thomas G. C. Davis, at one time a citizen of Metropolis, and member of the Constitutional convention of 1847, was a noted lawyer of Southern Illinois. It is related of him that he was never at a loss to supply a missing link in the chain of testimony wherein his client had a personal interest. There resided in the place a gentleman whose name was S. H. Pfrrimmer, well-known in that section as a good citizen, but a man who managed to know a great deal about other people's business, and by the way a personal friend of Mr. Davis. On occasions when the missing link was needed Mr. Davis would rise to his feet and cast a searching glance round the court-room for his witness, and not seeing him would vociferate, "Will the Sheriff call Mr. Pfrrimmer?" The habit was so frequent that "Will the Sheriff call Mr. Pfrrimmer" became a by-word about the court-room and Mr. Pfrrimmer was made the subject of many a pleasant jest.

WENTWORTH AND BROWNING.

This characteristic story of John Wentworth was related to us by Dr. William Jayne, who was present on the occasion. Before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise Wentworth was a radical Democrat, and while serving in Congress with John J. Hardin, a prominent Whig, some of Mr. Hardin's private correspondence, in some mysterious way, appeared in the public prints, and the offense was

charged upon Wentworth, and whether the charge was true or false he was, for a long time, violently abused by Hardin, and the Whigs in general; but when the anti-slavery men met at Bloomington, in May, 1856, to organize a new party, Mr. Wentworth was welcomed by the old line Whigs with the same cordiality as though he had always been a Whig. There he and O. H. Browning met for the first time; they were introduced by Abraham Lincoln. In taking the hand of Mr. Wentworth Mr. Browning said, in his most courteous and pleasing manner, that he had long known him by *reputation* and was proud to meet him, to which Wentworth, jocosely, replied, "that is not a d—n bit in my favor."

TILL HE WAS CONSCRIPTED.

Norman L. Freeman, now the able and popular Reporter of the Supreme Court, was a resident of Shawneetown in 1859, but subsequently purchased a farm in Missouri, and removed there with the hope of improving his health. But a year after the breaking out of the rebellion, he returned to Shawneetown and resumed the practice of law. On handing in his card to be inserted in the local paper, the publisher observed the letters "t. c.," and being curious to know their meaning, Mr. Freeman said he wished the card to appear "till he was conscripted."

U. F. LINDER AND THE "LITTLE DOCTOR."

U. F. Linder was one of the great lawyers of Illinois, who was contemporaneous with Abraham Lincoln, and was never so happy as when he had a crowd around him listening to his jokes. But sometimes the joke returned to plague him.

About 1856, he was sitting one summer evening outside the door of a hotel in Terre Haute, Indiana, telling a company of interested listeners of the exploits of Leonard Swett, one of Illinois' noted lawyers.

"This man Swett," said he, "is the sharpest lawyer in Illinois. He clears his man every time, especially if charged with murder."

"How does he do it, Linder?" ventured one of his hearers to inquire.

"Do it?" replied Linder, "he proves they are all insane—every cursed man of them."

"Well, how does he do that?"

"I'll tell you, sir. He carries around with him a little doctor, who knows all about insanity, and swears 'em all crazy as loons. The jury comes in with a verdict of insanity every time."

Then he recited several cases which had occurred where the parties had been thus acquitted, when they were really "just as sane as I am, sir,—just as you are," said Linder,—"It just beats hell."

At that moment a gentleman who had been sitting inside, but had been an amused listener, walked outside, and offering his hand to Linder, said:

"Good evening, Mr. Linder. I have the honor to be the little doctor you are talking about,—you tell it very well."

"What might your name be?" said Linder, though he knew very well.

"My name is Roe," said the gentleman.

"Not Doctor Roe, of Bloomington?"

"Yes, sir, Doctor Roe, of Bloomington—the man you call Swett's little doctor."

"Why, I know you, sir,—of course I know you, Dr. Roe," said Linder. "My God, sir! are you the man? I beg your pardon, Dr. Roe. I did not know that you were Swett's witness."

"Good God, sir, I beg your pardon a thousand times. What a blunder I made—indeed, I did not know the man

was Dr. Roe, of Bloomington. My God! Doctor, I can do nothing else but beg your pardon—and I would not do less if I could. Gentlemen, if this man ever swears I am insane, I will believe him myself."

CELESTIAL MERIDIAN OF $36^{\circ} 30'$.

Owen Lovejoy was one of the marked men of the age in which he lived. In the latter part of December, 1860, a proposition was made in a Republican caucus by a Representative of one of the Northern States, who seriously deprecated war as a means of saving the Union, to divide the country from Missouri to the Pacific along the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$, and to give up the south side to slavery. This struck Lovejoy as being supremely preposterous, and he was overheard to express his disapprobation of the extraordinary proposition in these words: "There never was a more causeless revolt since Lucifer led his cohorts of apostate angels against the throne of God; but I never heard that the Almighty proposed to compromise the matter by allowing the rebels to kindle the fires of hell south of the celestial meridian of $36^{\circ} 30'$."

ACCORDING TO THE GENTLEMAN FROM JEFFERSON.

While Lieut.-Gov. Hoffman was the presiding officer of the Senate, Ex-Lieut.-Gov. Zadok Casey, of Jefferson county, was a member of that body, and being a most able parliamentarian, Mr. Hoffman frequently deferred to him when difficult questions of parliamentary practice arose. On one occasion, when the presiding officer had thus sought the advice of Gov. Casey, Senator Mack read from Jefferson's Manual a passage at variance with the opinion given by Gov. Casey, but the Speaker, in loyalty to his referee, adroitly settled the question by assuring the Senator that he was "not ruling according to Jefferson, but according to the *gentleman from Jefferson*."

"I THOUGHT I WOULD LET YOU MAKE A WATER-DOG OF HIM."

We have heard a good story related of George W. Jones, the good-natured Clerk of the Appellate Court for the third district. He was then the circuit clerk of Pike county, and his home was at Pittsfield. The religious denomination familiarly known as Campbellites, one of whose cardinal principles is baptism by immersion, was holding a protracted meeting, and Elder John Sweeny, a man of eminent ability, was assisting Elder E. Rice, the local preacher. The house had been crowded for days and days, and one evening Mr. Jones concluded he would go out and hear the wonderful preacher. His black and tan terrier followed him, and soon he and his little dog became the observed of all observers. The congregation would look at the dog and then at Mr. Jones, until they attracted the attention of the Elder, who exclaimed in a somewhat sarcastic manner, "I wish the friend who brought that dog to church would leave him at home next time, and bring his family instead."

Next morning, when Mr. Jones returned to his office, he found the two Elders there. Passing in he spoke with his usual cordiality to Elder Rice, but paid no attention to Elder Sweeny, though he knew him well.

"Why do you not speak to me, Mr. Jones?" said Elder Sweeny.

"Because I am mad with you," replied Mr. Jones.
"Why did you abuse my dog last night?"

"Now as you are inclined to be inquisitive," said the Elder, "I will ask you a question. Why did you bring your dog to church?"

"Well," said Mr. Jones, "I will tell you. I have had that dog for six years, and I have tried him on rats, I have tried him on rabbits, I have tried him on coons, I have tried him as a watch-dog, and have yet to find him good for anything, and thought I would take him to church and let you make a water-dog of him."

How Col. REUBEN LOOMIS was KILLED.

One of the saddest occurrences of the war was the death of Col. Reuben Loomis, of DuQuoin, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixth Illinois Cavalry, at the hands of Maj. T. G. S. Herrod, of Shawneetown, of the same regiment, at Germantown, Tennessee, on the 3d of November, 1863. In Barnet's "Martyrs and Heroes" of Illinois, we find the following account of the unfortunate affair from the pen of Maj. Charles W. Whitsit:

"At the time, the entire effective force of the Sixth Illinois Cavalry was out under command of Lieut.-Col. Loomis, assisting in the general operations against Gen. Chalmers' movements. Maj. Herrod being left in command of the ineffective force in camp, did some important official business over his signature, as a 'Major Commanding Regiment.' Lieut.-Col. Loomis, thinking it an injustice to him and his regiment, took occasion to reprimand Maj. Herrod for his unwarranted assumption of power.

"Some bitter words passed during the interview, which was in the forenoon of the day on which the murder was committed. At dark Maj. Herrod came to headquarters and inquired for Col. Loomis, who, he was told, was at supper, but would soon be in. He proceeded immediately to the Lucken House, near half a mile distant, where Col. Loomis boarded, and where Col. Hatch and several other officers were at supper. Meeting Col. Loomis in the hall he accosted him thus: 'Col. Loomis, you said this morning thus and so, in the presence of Col. Hatch; take it back or I'll kill you.' Col. Loomis replied in a mild tone: 'Maj. Herrod, you have got a pistol in your hand and I am unarmed. If you want to kill me, kill me.' Maj. Herrod immediately fired; the first shot knocking him down, the second entering his breast, killing him instantly. He fired three more shots, none of which took effect."

Major Herrod was tried by court-martial and sentenced to death, but influential friends interfered and induced President Lincoln to commute his sentence to ten years imprisonment; but after a year's confinement in the Auburn, New York, Penitentiary, he was pardoned in May, 1866, by President Johnson.

Major Herrod raised the first company, B, of volunteer soldiers that went out from Gallatin county, which was assigned to the 18th, Col. M. K. Lawler's regiment.

How PINKNEY H. WALKER BECAME JUDGE.

Onias C. Skinner, of Quincy, was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court during the administration of Wm. H. Bissell, the first Republican Governor of Illinois, and for private personal reasons desired to leave the bench. He communicated the wish to the Governor, saying at the same time that if he would allow him to name, as his successor, Pinkney H. Walker, a Democrat, he would resign, but if the vacancy was to be filled with a Republican he would not. But Governor Bissell having full confidence in the purity of character of Mr. Walker, who was then Judge of the Fifth Circuit, readily assented to the request of Judge Skinner and the appointment was made, and the people seem to have been quite as well satisfied with the selection as Judge Skinner himself, for Judge Walker has been a member of this Court ever since that time, and is esteemed as one of our ablest and purest jurists. Advertising to his politics, we have heard a good story relating to his early political training. Maj. James A. Connolly, U. S. District Attorney for the Southern District of Illinois, made a business visit a year or so ago to that part of Kentucky in which Mr. Walker was born, and happened to be the guest of an uncle of the Judge's, who made inquiry as to the welfare of his nephew, and among other things as to his politics, to which Mr. Connolly replied he was a Democrat, when the uncle, who was a Clay Whig, expressing astonishment and disappointment in his very looks, shook his head and sadly exclaimed: 'Pinkney was taught better things than that.'

AN EXCITING POLITICAL EPISODE.

Connected with the Constitutional Convention of 1870 was an exciting episode in the attempt of the opposing political parties to secure the organization. Mr. Church, of McHenry, Republican, put in nomination Wm. Cary, of JoDaviess, for temporary President, and James C. Allen, of Crawford, Democrat, nominated Col. John Dement, of Lee, which was seconded by Mr. McDowell, of White, when Mr. Allen put the question and declared Dement elected. Simultaneously, Mr. Church put the nomination of Mr. Cary and declared him elected, when the two gentlemen ascended to the chair; Dement from the Democratic side, and Cary from the Republican, and meeting in the presidential place they gracefully shook hands and took seats together amidst great laughter and applause. The good sense of these gentlemen allayed the passions of their respective friends, and they continued to occupy the chair jointly, putting the questions alternately until the roll-call, when Col. Dement was elected President *pro tempore* by a vote of 44 to 32, which relieved the body from the embarrassment of having two presiding officers.

"HE KNEW HIM BEFORE THE FLOOD."

In the campaign of 1872, Gov. Palmer was explaining, in a speech made in Springfield, how it was that some men changed their politics, while others did not, and cited Alexander Starne, who was present, as one who never changed. "Why," said the Governor, "I knew Starne before the flood, and he was a Democrat then, and I guess he will die a Democrat." But Mr. Starne, not being willing to appear as old as the Governor had made him seem, good naturedly rejoined, in a voice loud enough to be heard by all, that the only flood he had any recollection of meeting the Governor in, was when he was trying to

flood Illinois with Yankee clocks. Many of the audience, remembering that the Governor had peddled clocks in his younger days, heartily applauded the neat turn Mr. Starne had given the Governor's jest.

THERE IS NO USE OF THIS INVESTIGATION.

At the time Edward Rutz was serving his first term as State Treasurer, the Democratic party obtained, by a fusion with the Independents, nominal control of both branches of the General Assembly, and the leaders of the lower house conceived the idea that there was a shortage in Mr. Rutz's cash account, and a committee was raised to investigate the matter by counting the money in the vault. While the preliminary work was going on a well-known Democrat, who had known Mr. Rutz for long years, and who was more profane than polite, was overheard to say "There is no use of this investigation; the d—d Dutchman has got the money." And so the count proved. Notwithstanding the constitution of Illinois inhibits the election of a person to the office of State Treasurer two terms in succession, yet it was Mr. Rutz's good fortune to have been elected three times to that office, the required lapse of time ensuing in each case. It is not likely, however, that such a circumstance will ever again occur in the history of any man in the State.

"I WAS BORN A POOR BAREFOOTED BOY."

Governor Beveridge is responsible for this story on ex-State Treasurer Ridgway. In 1874, Beveridge and Ridgway were making a canvass together of Southern Illinois, and at their meeting at Carmi, White county, Ridgway took occasion to allude to the fact that that county had been his birthplace, and, warming up with the subject, he said: "Yes, fellow-citizens, I was born a poor, barefooted boy in White county, and am just as much entitled to be the Treasurer of the great State of Illinois as though I

had been born in the lap of luxury in Cook or any of the other great counties of the State. This slip of the tongue was too good to be lost, and the crowd shouted long and loud, and Ridgway has since been known among his most intimate friends as the man who was born barefooted.

" TOM NEEDLES AND JOHN BUNN KNOW TOO D—N MUCH."

During the great railroad riot of 1877 business was virtually suspended on all the leading lines of railway in the State, and on one occasion Gov. Cullom had to procure from J. C. McMullen, General Superintendent of the C. & A. Railway, a special train in order to reach East St. Louis to look after the military operations there. He invited James A. Connolly, Jonathan Merriam, R. D. Lawrence, S. H. Jones and William Prescott to accompany him; and in the absence of his Private Secretary, E. F. Leonard, requested T. B. Needles, who was then Auditor, and John Bunn, to remain at the Executive office to assist Harry Dorwin in answering whatever dispatches might be received, for he had been overwhelmed with telegrams from all parts of the State. Needles and Bunn willingly assented to the request and took their places in the office, remaining there until the Governor's return, which was about 12 o'clock the next night, when they repaired to the mansion and reported that not a single telegram had been received during his absence. Of course, the Governor was much surprised at what seemed to be a mystery. But on going to the telegraph office the next morning it was readily explained by the manager, who said that Adjutant-General Hilliard had remained in the office during the absence of the Governor, and had received and answered all messages. When Gen. Hilliard was asked by the Governor why he had done so, he replied: "Tom Needles and John Bunn know too d—n much to play Governor." The joke was heartily relished

by all who were in the secret, and by none more than Needles and Bunn, but it was a long time before they heard the last of "playing Governor."

"WONDERFUL MORAL REFORMATION."

When A. J. Kuykendall represented the thirteenth congressional district—now the twentieth—as a Republican, there was much curiosity among war Representatives to see the man who had beaten Wm. J. Allen, a somewhat notorious anti-war Democrat. On one occasion, Mr. Kuykendall was invited to join a party of members in a social glass; declining to drink, it was suggested that he take a cigar, but not having acquired the habit of smoking, this courtesy was also declined; and then it was proposed to play a game of cards, when he again declined. By this time his companions were more than ever interested in the character of the new Representative, and one of them made bold to say: "Do I understand you to say that you have the honor to represent the district formerly represented by John A. Logan and Wm. J. Allen, and that you neither drink, smoke, nor play cards?" Mr. Kuykendall indicated that such was the fact, when the gentleman concluded by saying, that the moral reformation in that district has been even as great as the political.

"TELL OLD HILLIARD TO COME AND SEE ME, DEVILISH QUICK."

There is a good story related of Gov. Cullom, which had its origin during an occasion when an outbreak was hourly expected from "striking" miners. Those who know the Governor well will bear us out in saying that he was not given to much dress-parade in the discharge of his official duties, and that he is in no sense a military man. On one occasion, when he was deeply occupied with matters of State, the Orderly of Adjutant-General Hilliard made his appearance, and inquired if the "Commander-in-Chief

had any orders for Adjutant-General Hilliard," at the same time saluting the Governor in true military style. Without relinquishing his attention from the business in hand, the Governor curtly said: "Tell Old Hilliard to come and see me." Another military salute, and the Orderly was off, but he had not gone far before it occurred to him that the "Commander-in-Chief" did not wish to send the message to the Adjutant-General in that form, and returned, and with another military salute, asked further instructions, when the Governor, rising from his seat as though he meant to put the Orderly out of his office, thundered in his ear: "Tell Old Hilliard to come and see me, devilish quick." This emphatic order served to end all unnecessary palaver between the two departments so long as that Orderly remained on duty.

"IF THEY WILL LET ME OUT WITH AS GOOD CHARACTER AS I HAD."

The animosities which grew up in the Republican party over the attempt to carry Illinois solid for Gen. Grant for President in the National Convention in 1880, continued to exist to some extent even after the election of Garfield, and among those who were not in exact accord with the "stalwarts" was Charles B. Farwell, who had been elected to Congress from the third congressional district in Chicago. The writer met Mr. Farwell in Washington at the inauguration of Mr. Garfield, and in reply to an inquiry as to how he viewed the incoming Administration, he declined to say anything of it, but related the following story illustrative of his feelings: "There resided," said he, "in a certain locality in a neighboring State a wealthy citizen, of liberal instincts, who was induced to interest himself financially in the erection of an expensive house of worship for the Episcopal church. When the edifice was completed, then came the disposition of the pews, and this wealthy man was assigned one

of the most desirable, at an annual rental of five hundred dollars, and was taken in as a member of the society. But it was not long before a church quarrel ensued, and the opposing parties called each other almost everything but christians. For a time the new member bore the controversy with seeming patience, but at last becoming thoroughly disgusted, he proposed to the brethren that if they would 'let him out into the world again with as good character as he possessed when he was taken into the church, he would give them the five hundred dollars pew-rent, and surrender all interest in the building.'"

Mr. Farwell playfully said that if the party would let him out of Congress with as good character as he had when he entered public life, he would cheerfully lay aside all claims for money expended or services rendered in past campaigns.





By Mr G. G.
Norman Edwards

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SECRET

47

RECORDED BY TELETYPE
AT 10:00 AM ON JUNE 10, 1968
IN THE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BY AGENT RICHARD L. COOPER
AND AGENT ROBERT W. HARRIS
IN THE OFFICE OF THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
AT NEW YORK CITY
IN THE COURSE OF AN INVESTIGATION
INTO THE MURDER OF MARTIN LUTHER KING,
JUNIOR, AND OTHERS.
THE INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-10-68 BY RLC

This image is a high-contrast, black-and-white scan of a surface that appears heavily textured or noisy. The background is a pale, off-white color. Overlaid on this are numerous dark, irregular speckles and noise patterns, which are more concentrated in the upper left and lower right areas. There is no discernible text, figures, or tables.

1878-1880
1880-1881

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER I.

ILLINOIS.

Formation into a Territory—Officers—Formation of Legislative Districts—Territorial Legislation—Personal.

We learn from the History of the United States that the Illinois country was first explored by LaSalle, the French Missionaries and Indian traders, who formed the earliest settlement at Kaskaskia, in 1683; that the country was first owned by the French and was afterward ceded to Great Britain, when it became a part of the possessions of Virginia. The questions growing out of the ownership, by several States, of vast tracts of unoccupied land, were very difficult of solution, owing, in many instances, to rival claims based on the comprehensive, ill-defined, and often conflicting grants made by different sovereigns of England to colonies and colonists in the new world; and the conviction in various quarters that all the territory acquired from Great Britain by the treaty of 1783, having been secured by the blood and the treasure of the whole people, should be held by all the States as common property. The data in possession of the European governments in relation to this continent were so vague that it was impossible to define their grants with anything like accuracy; and they seemed to think that the country was so expansive that there was scarcely any

limit to its extent or their power over it; and the result was that different colonies claimed the ownership of the same territory, and in various instances it was claimed by several conflicting authorities. These questions proved for a time serious obstacles in the way of accord among the several States; and so complicated did they become that at times they seemed impossible of adjustment. But the sound common sense and the enlightened patriotism that had governed the statesmen of that day, throughout their perilous conflict, proved sufficient for this last emergency. Virginia took the first practical step in the direction of a settlement, by the cession to the confederacy, in 1784, of all her land Northwest of the Ohio river—which was accepted by Congress—and in relation to which the Ordinance of 1787 was subsequently adopted. By this measure the obstacles were removed. From this territory was formed five States—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin—all devoted to freedom. (See Hickey's Constitution of the United States.) Illinois was a part of Indiana Territory when organized as a Territory.

February 3, 1809, Congress passed an act dividing the Indiana Territory into two separate governments, and establishing the Territory of Illinois. President Madison appointed John Boyle, an Associate Justice of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky, Governor of the Territory, but he declined, and Ninian Edwards, Chief Justice of the same Court, was appointed in his stead. Nathaniel Pope was appointed Secretary; Alexander Stuart, Obadiah Jones and Jesse B. Thomas, Judges; Benjamin H. Boyle, Attorney-General. This composed the Territorial Government.

Under the Ordinance of 1787, and the act of Congress February 3, 1809, the Governor and Judges constituted the law-making power of the Territory, and as such they met for the first time at Kaskaskia, June 13, 1809, and their first act was to resolve that the laws of Indiana Territory,

in force prior to March 1, 1809, which applied to the government of the Territory, should remain in full force and effect. The duration of the session was seven days, in which thirteen acts were passed.

The second session of the Council was held in 1810, at which fourteen acts were passed, and the third and last session was held in 1811, at which five acts were passed. Among the laws enacted were some from the Georgia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and South Carolina statutes.

In May, 1812, Congress passed an act authorizing the formation of five Legislative districts in the Territory which were to be apportioned by the Governor, and from each of which was to be elected a member of the Legislative Council, who should hold the office four years; the number of Representatives to be elected was not to be less than seven nor more than twelve, until the number of "free male, white inhabitants" should equal six thousand, and after that time the number was to be governed by the Ordinance of 1787. The office of Representative was for two years.

Governor Edwards called the first election for Councilmen and Representatives for October 8, 9 and 10, 1812.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT, 1812.

Governor—Ninian Edwards.

Secretary of State—Nathaniel Pope.

Auditor of Public Accounts—H. H. Maxwell.

Attorney-General—B. M. Piatt.

Treasurer—John Thomas.

FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE.

The first session of the Territorial Legislature under the act of Congress of May 12, convened at Kaskaskia, November 25, 1812, and was composed of the following members:

COUNCIL.

Pierre Menard, Randolph. Samuel Judy, Madison.

Benjamin Talbott, Gallatin. Thomas Ferguson, Johnson.

William Biggs, St. Clair.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

George Fisher, Randolph. Joshua Oglesby, St. Clair.
Alexander Wilson, Gallatin. Jacob Short, St. Clair.
Philip Trammel, Gallatin. William Jones, Madison.
John Grammar, Johnson.

Pierre Menard was elected President of the Council, and John Thomas Secretary. George Fisher was elected Speaker of the House, and William C. Greenup Clerk.

The duration of this session was thirty-two days, and the whole number of acts passed was twenty-seven. The salary of the Attorney-General was fixed at \$175 per annum; Auditor, \$150; Treasurer, \$150; and members of the Legislature at \$2 per day.

A second session of this body convened November 8, 1813. Thirteen laws were passed, principal among which was one to prevent the sale of liquor to the Indians, and another to prevent the emigration of negroes or mulattoes into the Territory.

SECOND TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE.

The Second Territorial Legislature convened on the 14th of November, 1814, and was composed of the following members:

COUNCIL.

Pierre Menard, Randolph.	Samuel Judy, Madison.
Wm. Biggs, St. Clair.	Thomas Ferguson, Johnson.
Benj. Talbott, Gallatin.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Risdon Moore, St. Clair.	Philip Trammel, Gallatin.
Wm. Rabb, Madison.	Thos. C. Browne, Gallatin.
Jas. Lemen, Jr., St. Clair	Owen Evans, Johnson.
Jas. Gilbreath, Randolph.	

The officers of the Council were the same as in the preceding Legislature. In the House, Risdon Moore was elected Speaker, and William Mears, who had succeeded B. M. Piatt as Attorney-General, Clerk.

The laws excluding Judges of the Courts and surveyors from holding seats in the Legislature, and taxing land, which had been passed by the preceding Legislature, were repealed. A contract was made with Nathaniel Pope for revising the laws. Acts were passed incorporating Shawneetown and authorizing the payment of \$50 for every hostile Indian killed. An adjournment was taken December 24 to the 4th of September, 1815.

On the reassembling of this body, agreeably to adjournment, Jarvis Hazleton, of Randolph, appeared as the Representative instead of Gilbreath, and John G. Lofton, of Madison, in place of Owen Evans. Daniel P. Cook was elected Clerk. The duration of this session was thirty-nine days. Thirty-eight acts were passed, one of which was to tax each billiard table \$150 per annum, and another to punish counterfeiters of bank-bills by fine and whipping, and if the offender was unable to pay the fine, he was to be sold by the Sheriff at public vendue to satisfy the judgment.

THIRD TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—1816-17.

The third Territorial Legislature convened December 2, 1816, and was composed of the following members:

COUNCIL.

Pierre Menard, Randolph.	John Grammar, Johnson.
John G. Lofton, Madison.	Thomas C. Browne, Gallatin.
Abraham Amos, St. Clair.	

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

George Fisher, Randolph.	Joseph Palmer, Johnson.
C. R. Matheny, St. Clair.	Seth Gard, Edwards.
Wm. H. Bradby, St. Clair.	Samuel O'Melveny, Pope.
Nathan Davis, Jackson.	

Pierre Menard was elected President of the Council, and Joseph Conway Secretary. In the House, George Fisher was elected Speaker, and Daniel P. Cook, who had become Auditor of Public Accounts, Clerk.

This Legislature was in session from December 2, 1816, to January 14, 1817, when it took a recess to December 1, following. There were twenty-eight acts passed at this session. One of the important acts was to establish a bank at Shawneetown, with a capital of \$300,000. The Indiana Legislature had passed an act prohibiting non-resident lawyers from practicing in the courts of that State, and in retaliation an act was passed at this session imposing a fine of \$200 upon any Indiana lawyer found practicing in the Territory, and the same act imposed a fine of \$500 on any judge who, knowingly, allowed an Indiana lawyer to practice in his court.

The second session convened December 1, 1817, agreeably to adjournment. Willis Hargrave, of White, appeared as Representative instead of Nathan Davis, and M. S. Davis, of Gallatin, in place of Samuel O'Melveny. Fifty acts were passed, notably among which were acts establishing banks at Kaskaskia, Edwardsville and Cairo, and another incorporating medical societies at Kaskaskia and Carmi. An adjournment took place January 12, 1818, which terminated Territorial legislation.

Quite a number of the members of the Territorial Legislature became eminent in the councils of the State. Thomas C. Browne was twice elected to the Supreme bench, and Pierre Menard was Lieutenant-Governor under Gov. Bond. Mr. Menard was a Frenchman, and was considered an able and excellent man. The county of Menard was named in honor of him, and a kind friend, in the person of Charles P. Chouteau, of St. Louis, recently presented to Illinois \$10,000 for the erection of a monument to his memory, which is to be placed in the grounds of the new State House. Ford, in his history, relates this anecdote of Menard: While presiding over the Senate, an act passed that body which proposed to make the notes of the State banks receivable at the land office. Menard, in putting the question, said: "Gentlemen of de Senate, it is

moved and seconded dat de notes of dis bank be made land-office money. All in favor of dat motion say aye; all against it say no. It is decided in de affirmative. And now, gentlemen, I bet you one hundred dollar he never be made land-office money."

Daniel P. Cook represented the State in Congress from 1820 to 1827, and filled, with great ability, his duties as a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and was considered by such men as Calhoun and Judge McLean as a man of remarkable talents. He was a native of Kentucky, and died at the age of thirty-two years, in October, 1827.

CHAPTER II.

ADMISSION AS A STATE.

Constitutional Convention—Peculiarities of the Constitution—Boundaries of the State.

Congress passed an act April 18, 1818, enabling the people of the Territory to form a State Constitution preparatory to admission into the Union. The election for delegates was authorized to take place on the first Monday of the ensuing July, and the convention to meet on the first Monday in August, following. There were then but fourteen counties in the Territory, and the enabling act fixed the number of delegates at thirty-three. The convention assembled agreeably to law, and was composed of the following delegates:

Jesse B. Thomas, John Messinger, James Lemen, Jr., George Fisher, Elias Kent Kane, Benjamin Stephenson, Joseph Borough, Abraham Prickett, Michael Jones,

Leonard White, Adolphus F. Hubbard, Hezekiah West, Wm. McFatridge, Seth Gard, Levi Compton, Willis Hargrave, Wm. McHenry, Caldwell Carns, Enoch Moore, Samuel O'Melveny, Hamlet Ferguson, Conrad Will, James Hall, Jr., Joseph Kitchell, Edward N. Cullom, Thomas Kirkpatrick, Samuel G. Morse, William Echols, John Whiteaker, Andrew Bankson, Isham Harrison, Thomas Roberts.

The convention organized by the election of Jesse B. Thomas President, and William C. Greenup Secretary.

The constitution was adopted by the convention, August 26, but was not submitted to a vote of the people, as subsequent constitutions have been. There were but eight articles. We note some of the peculiar features of the instrument: The salary of the Governor was fixed at \$1,000; Secretary of State, \$600; Judges of the Supreme Court, \$1,000. The mode of voting was to be *viva voce* until the General Assembly should change it; Judges of inferior courts were to hold their offices during good behavior; Judges of the Supreme Court were to be removed from office on the request of two-thirds of the members of each house of the General Assembly; every person who had been bound to service by contract or indenture, by virtue of the laws of Illinois Territory, were held to a specific performance of their contracts or indentures, and negroes and mulattoes who had been registered in conformity with the aforesaid laws, to serve out the time appointed by said laws; and the children born to such persons after that time were to be free, the males at the age of 21 years, the females at the age of 18 years, and every child born of indentured parents was to be registered with the clerk of the county in which they resided within six months after birth.

Congress fixed the boundaries of the State as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash river; thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana, to the northwest

corner of said State; thence east, with the line of said State, to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north, along the middle of said lake, to north latitude 42° and 30'; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi river, and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio river, and thence up the latter river, along its northwestern shore, to the place of beginning: *Provided*, that this State shall exercise such jurisdiction upon the Ohio river as she is now entitled, or such as may hereafter be agreed upon by this State and the State of Kentucky."

The State was admitted into the Union December 3, 1818.

CHAPTER III.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1818-22.

The first State government began October 6, 1818, with the following officers: Shadrach Bond, of St. Clair, Governor; Pierre Menard, of Randolph, Lieutenant-Governor; Elias Kent Kane, of Randolph, Secretary of State; Elijah C. Berry, of Fayette, Auditor of Public Accounts; John Thomas, of St. Clair, Treasurer; Daniel P. Cook, of Randolph, Attorney-General.

Under the constitution of 1818, the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were the only State officers who were elected directly by the people. The others were chosen from time to time by the General Assembly.

Gov. Bond assumed the duties of his office October 6. One of his first recommendations to the General Assembly was for the construction of a canal connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi river.

The first General Assembly convened October 5, 1818, and adjourned October 13, and convened again January

4, 1819, and adjourned March 31. It was composed of the following members:

SENATE.

Lewis Barker, Pope.	William Kinney, St. Clair.
George Caldwell, Madison.	Joseph Kitchell, Crawford.
Thomas Cox, Union.	Zariah Maddux, Washington.
Willis Hargrave, White.	John McFerron, Randolph.
Alexander Jamison, Monroe.	Thos. Roberts, Johnson.
Martin Jones, Bond.	Guy W. Smith, Edwards.
Michael Jones, Gallatin.	Conrad Will, Jackson.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wm. Alexander, Monroe.	John Messenger, St. Clair.
Levi Compton, Edwards.	Risdon Moore, St. Clair.
J. G. Daimwood, Gallatin.	William Nash, White.
Jesse Echols, Union.	Alexander Phillips, White.
Elijah Ewing, Franklin.	David Porter, Crawford.
Green B. Field, Pope.	Abraham Prickett, Madison.
Jesse Gregg, Jackson.	Scott Riggs, Crawford.
Robert Hamilton, Pope.	D. S. Swearingen, Washingt'n.
John Howard, Madison.	James D. Thomas, St. Clair.
A. F. Hubbard, Gallatin.	Henry Utter, Edwards.
E. Humphreys, Randolph.	Samuel Walker, Randolph.
Francis Kirkpatrick, Bond.	John Whiteaker, Union,
John Marshall, Gallatin.	Samuel Whitesides, Madison.
Sam'l McClintock, Gallatin.	Isaac D. Wilcox, Johnson.
Wm. McHenry, White.	

Pierre Menard was the presiding officer of the Senate, and William C. Greenup was elected Secretary. In the House John Messenger was elected Speaker, and Thomas Reynolds Clerk.

There is quite a contrast between the General Assembly of the present time and then, the whole number of members of this body being eight less than now compose the present Senate, and we print this roster more with a view of showing the contrast as to size between the respective General Assemblies.

The time of this General Assembly was occupied in passing laws necessary to put the machinery of State in working order. The population was sparse, and there was no great demand for legislation.

Ninian Edwards and Jesse B. Thomas were chosen United States Senators at this session.

In 1819, R. K. McLaughlin succeeded Thomas as Treasurer, and William Mears succeeded Cook as Attorney-General.

CHAPTER IV.

CAPITALS.

Kaskaskia—Vandalia—Springfield—Population of Kaskaskia in 1820—Population now—An Island of the Mississippi—Towns which Wanted the Capital—When Removed from Vandalia.

Illinois has had three capitals—Kaskaskia, Vandalia and Springfield. When Kaskaskia became the seat of government it was also the county seat of Randolph county. There were then but two counties in the Territory, Randolph and St. Clair. The first session of the Territorial Legislature was convened November 25, 1812—and the first Legislature of the State, October 5, 1818.

In 1820, the seat of government was removed to Vandalia; there were then nineteen counties. The first session of the Legislature convened there December 4, 1820. The Capital was removed to Springfield in 1839, at which time there were seventy-two counties. The first session of the Legislature convened there December 9, 1839.

When the joint resolution removing the capital to Springfield passed the General Assembly, in 1838, on the first ballot, there were eighteen towns voted for as being the proper place for the capital. On the first ballot Springfield received 85, Vandalia 16, Alton 15, Jacksonville 14, Decatur 4, Carrollton 3, Illiopolis 3, Bloomington

2, Mt. Carmel 2, Paris 1, Palestine 1, Grafton 1, Shawneetown 1, Pittsfield 1, Kaskaskia 1, Shelbyville 1, Hillsboro 1, Caledonia 1, and the geographical centre 3. On the fourth and last ballot Springfield received 73 votes, Vandalia 16, Jacksonville 11, Alton 6, Peoria 8, Illiopolis 3, Hillsboro 1, Shawneetown 1, Bloomington 1, Essex 1, Grafton 1, and Caledonia 1.

Some earnest efforts have been made at different times to remove the capital from Springfield to Peoria and elsewhere, but the building of the new State House, which will cost, when completed, something over \$3,500,000, has doubtless silenced the serious consideration of this question for generations to come.

Of Kaskaskia, Peck's Gazeteer of 1834 says:

"The early French explorers made one of their first settlements at this spot, shortly after the visit of LaSalle, in 1683; and so long as the French continued in possession of the Illinois country, Kaskaskia was its capital, and was flourishing and populous. In 1721, when Charlevoix visited it, there existed a Jesuit college. In 1763, when the country east of the Mississippi was ceded by France to Great Britain, it contained about one hundred families."

In 1820, Kaskaskia attained its greatest population. The United States census of that year reckoned the number of inhabitants at 7,000. Soon after the removal of the capital to Vandalia, which occurred during the year 1820, the population of Kaskaskia began to decline rapidly. The census of 1880 showed but 305 inhabitants. On the 18th of April, 1881, the Mississippi and Kaskaskia rivers were united, and Kaskaskia became an island of the Mississippi, since which time its population has been reduced to less than 150, and but a few years at most will pass before all that remains of this historic place will mingle with the debris of the father of waters. It is worthy of note, however, to say that the house where the first Territorial Legislature met, is still in a good state of preservation. And it is lamentable that so noted a place

in the history of the country as Kaskaskia can not be preserved.

Vandalia has had a more fortunate career. While the town has not grown to a great city, yet it is one of the brightest and most pleasant in the State, and is now improving rapidly. There are quite a number of substantial and flourishing manufactories, and two well-conducted newspapers—*Democrat* and *Union*. The old State House is intact, and is now used as a court house.

CHAPTER V.

SECOND GENERAL ASSEMBLY—1820-22.

In 1820, the seat of government was removed from Kaskaskia to Vandalia, and the second General Assembly convened there December 4, and adjourned February 13, 1821. Lieut.-Gov. Menard presided over the Senate, and James Turner was elected Secretary. John McLean was elected Speaker of the House, and Thomas Reynolds Clerk.

Gov. Bond's administration closed in December, 1822. It had been faithful and blameless, and he retired with the confidence and respect of the people. Prior to his election as Governor he had been a delegate to Congress, and held the office of Receiver of Public Moneys, at Kaskaskia. When Gov. Bond was a delegate to Congress, it is related of him that he and his wife made the trip from Illinois to Washington on horseback. Mr. Bond had six children—Thomas S., Emily, Julia R., Mary A., Isabella F., and Benjamin N., but all are dead except Dr. Benjamin N. Bond, who is a highly respected citizen of Stanbury, Missouri. Julia R. Bond married Col. Frank

Swanwick, of Randolph county; Mary A., Joseph B. Holmes, a merchant at Chester; Isabella F., James P. Craig, of Chester. Quite a number of the grand-children of Gov. Bond reside at Chester, while others make their home on the Pacific slope, and others still, in the sunny South.

Gov. Bond died April 12, 1832, at Kaskaskia, where he was buried, but in April, 1881, the remains of himself and wife were removed to Chester, and consigned to the same vault, over which the State has erected a monument, which bears this inscription:

"In memory of Shadrach Bond,
The first Governor of the State of Illinois;
Born at Fredericktown, Maryland, November 24, A.D. 1778.
Died at his residence near Kaskaskia, April 12, A.D. 1832.

In recognition of his valuable public services,
this monument was erected by the State A.D. 1883.
Governor Bond filled many offices of trust and importance,
all with integrity and honor."

CHAPTER VI.

OUR FIRST BANKING.

The first bank established in the Territory was at Shawneetown; it was chartered by an act of the Legislature of 1816, and limited to twenty years; the capital could not exceed \$300,000, and the Territory was authorized to subscribe one-third of the stock. John Marshall, Daniel Aperson, Samuel Hays, Leonard White and Samuel R. Campbell were constituted Commissioners to take subscriptions. In 1819, an act was passed by the Legislature chartering the State Bank of Illinois, for twenty-five years, with a capital limited to \$4,000,000; the State was to take

\$2,000,000 of the stock. The bank was located at Kaskaskia, and subscription books were opened at Kaskaskia, Golconda, Edwardsville, Harrisonville, Belleville, Vienna, Carlyle, Palmyra, Carmi, Shawneetown, Palestine, Jonesboro and Brownsville. The stock could be paid in State warrants.

In 1821, the Legislature passed an act chartering the State Bank of Illinois at Vandalia, with branches at Edwardsville, Brownsville, Shawneetown, and at the county seat of Edwards county. The act provided for issuing \$300,000 in notes, on the credit of the State. The State Treasurer was authorized to deposit the public moneys with the bank, and contractors were to be paid in its notes. Congress was memorialized to authorize the land-offices to receive the notes of the bank in payment for lands. The charter of the bank established in 1819 was repealed by this act.

As to the character and operations of this institution, Ford's History has this to say:

"It was founded without money and wholly on the credit of the State. It was authorized to issue one, two, three, five, ten and twenty-dollar notes, in the likeness of bank bills, bearing two per cent. annual interest, and payable by the State in ten years. A principal bank was established at Vandalia, and four or five branches in other places; the Legislature elected all the directors and officers, a large number of whom were members of the Legislature, and all of them professional politicians. The bank was directed by law to lend its bills to the people, to the amount of one hundred dollars, on personal security; and upon the security of mortgages upon land for a greater sum. These bills were to be receivable in payment of all State and county taxes, and for all costs and fees, and salaries of public officers; and if a creditor refused to endorse on his execution his willingness to receive them in payment of debt, the debtor could replevy or stay its collection for three years, by giving personal security.

"In the summer of 1821, the new bank went into operation. Every man who could get an indorser borrowed his hundred dollars. The directors, it is believed, were

all politicians; and either were then, or expected to be, candidates for office. Lending to everybody, and refusing none, was the surest road to popularity. Accordingly, \$300,000 of the new money was soon lent, without much attention to security or care for eventual payment. It first fell twenty-five cents, then fifty, and then seventy cents below par. And as the bills of the Ohio and Kentucky banks had driven all other money out of the State, so this new issue effectually kept it out. Such a total absence was there of the silver coins, that it became utterly impossible, in the course of trade, to make small change. The people, from necessity, were compelled to cut the new bills into two pieces, so as to make two halves of a dollar. This again further aided to keep out even the smallest silver coin. For about four years there was no other kind of money but this uncurrent State bank paper. In the meantime, very few persons pretended to pay their debts to the bank. More than half of those who had borrowed considered what they had gotten from it as so much clear gain, and never intended to pay it from the first.

"By the year 1824, it became impossible to carry on the State government with such money. The State revenue varied from twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars per annum, which was raised almost exclusively by a tax on lands, then owned by non-residents, in the military tract lying northwest of the Illinois river. The resident land tax in other parts of the State was paid into the county treasuries. The annual expenditures of the State government were about equal to the annual revenues; and as the taxes were collected in the bills of the State bank, the Legislature, to carry on the government, was compelled to provide for its own pay, and that of all the public officers, and the expenses of the government, by taking and giving enough of the depreciated bills to equal in value the sums required to be paid. So that each member, instead of receiving three dollars per day, received nine dollars per day. The salaries of the Governor and Judges, and all other expenses, were paid in the same way. So that, if \$30,000 was required to pay the expenses of government for a year, under this system it took \$90,000 to do it. And thus, by the financial aid of an insolvent bank, the legislature managed to treble the public expenses, without increasing the revenues or amount of service to the State. In fact, this State lost two-thirds of its revenue, and expended three times the amount necessary to carry on the government. In the course of ten years it must have lost

more than \$150,000, by receiving depreciated currency; \$150,000 more by paying it out, and \$100,000 of the loans, which were never repaid by the borrowers, and which the State had to make good, by receiving the bills of the bank for taxes, by funding some at six per cent. interest, and paying a part in cash in the year 1831."

The result of all this was that the banks became insolvent, and everywhere hard times prevailed, and in 1843, the Legislature passed an act compelling the banks to go into liquidation, and here ended the first trials of the people with reckless banking.

FIRST CANVASS BEFORE THE PEOPLE FOR GOVERNOR.

In 1822, there were no distinctive parties in Illinois, and the race for Governor was free for all. The candidates were Joseph Phillips, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Edward Coles, Register of the Land office at Edwardsville; Thomas C. Browne, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, and James B. Moore, General of the State Militia. The State was then very sparsely settled. The election took place in August, and the total vote of all the candidates was but 6,309. Coles received 2,810; Phillips, 2,760; Moore, 522, and Browne, 217. Coles' plurality over Phillips was but 50. There is a striking contrast between the vote of the State then and now. In the election of 1880, the total vote for State officers was 620,995.

It will be observed that there were two candidates for the office of Governor from the Supreme Court. Since then, however, the Supreme Court has been tacitly divorced from the politics of the State, out of deference to an unmistakable expression of public sentiment in favor of a pure, unpartisan judiciary.

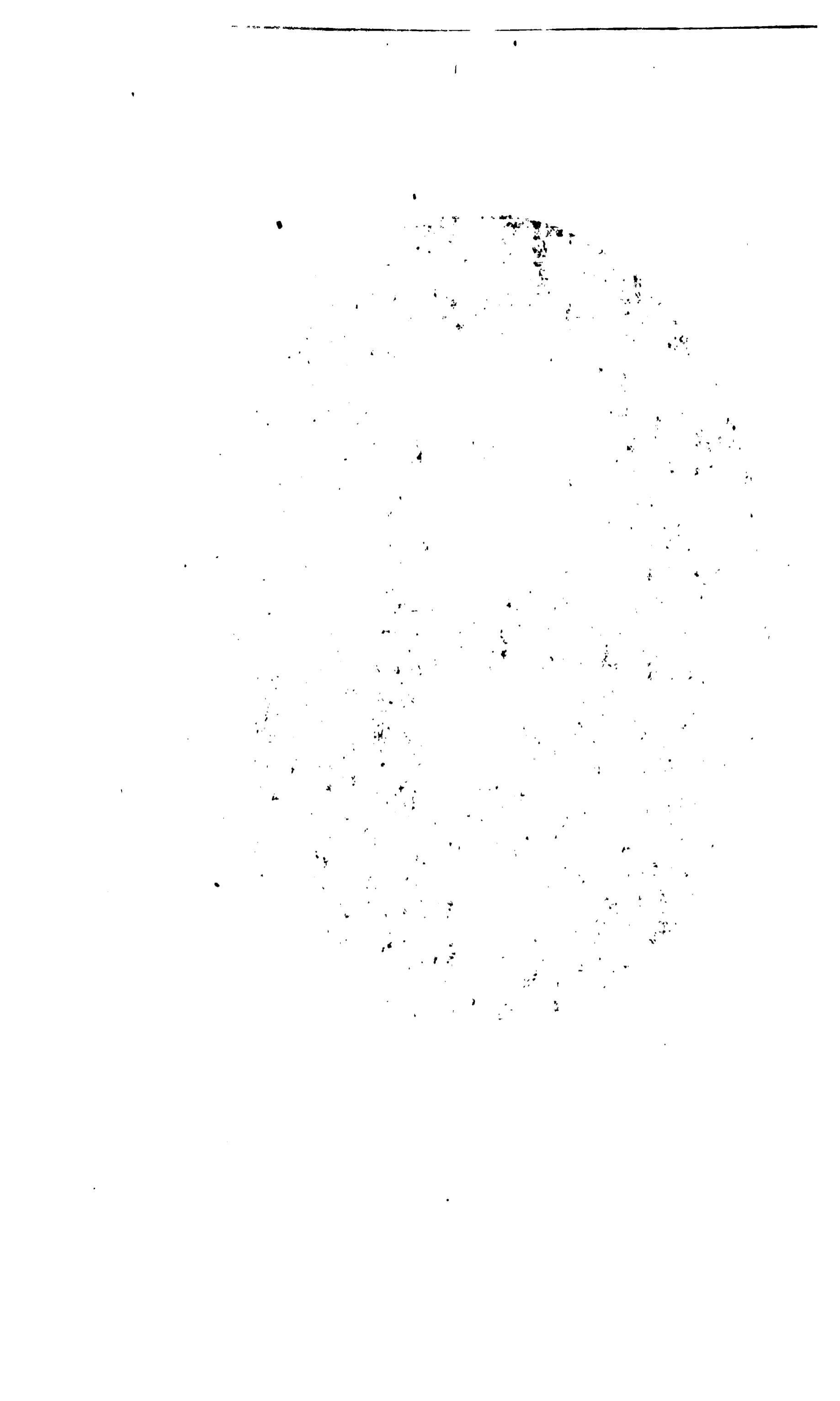
CHAPTER VII.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1822-28.

The second State Government was inaugurated December 5, 1822, with Edward Coles, of Madison, as Governor; Adolphus S. Hubbard, of Gallatin, Lieutenant-Governor; Samuel D. Lockwood, of Madison, Secretary of State; Elijah C. Berry, of Fayette, Auditor of Public Accounts; R. K. McLaughlin, of Fayette, Treasurer; James Turney, of Washington, Attorney-General.

The Third General Assembly convened December 2, 1822, and adjourned February 11, 1823. Lieut.-Gov. Hubbard presided over the Senate, and Thomas Lippincott was elected Secretary. William M. Alexander was elected Speaker of the House, and Charles Dunn Clerk.

This was a stormy session. In the campaign, in which Gov. Coles was elected, the question of making Illinois a slave State had been broadly mooted, and a pro-slavery Legislature had been elected. In his inaugural address Gov. Coles took strong ground against slavery, which arrayed both branches of the Legislature against him, but of the final outcome of the controversy we speak at length in a subsequent chapter.



CHAPTER VIII.

**Early Salt Making—Gov. Coles on Titles—Gen. Lafayette's Visit to Illinois
—Shawneetown in 1817.**

EARLY SALT MAKING.

One of the most interesting subjects of the pioneer history of the State is salt making in Gallatin county. Tradition says that the salt springs near Equality were extensively worked by the prehistoric race of the continent, long before the Anglo-Saxon race had penetrated the wilds of Illinois. The evaporating kettles used were found at Negro Salt Springs and at Salt Lick, near Equality. The kettles were between three and four feet in diameter, made of clay and pounded shells, moulded in basket-work or cloth, which left the impression on the outside of the kettle and looked like artistic hand-work. Little or nothing is known as to the length of time the springs were worked by the Indians, but Congress gave attention to the subject in 1812. On the 12th of February of that year, an act was passed setting apart six miles square of land to support the Equality Salines. Under Congressional authority the springs were leased to parties to work. The labor was nearly all performed by slaves brought from Kentucky and Tennessee, of which reference is made in Article six, Section two, of the Constitution of 1818. Many of these negroes, by extra work, saved sufficient money to buy their freedom, and these were the negroes from whom descended

the large number that resided in Gallatin and Saline counties before the war for the Union. Salt, under the Government leases, sold at \$5 per bushel, and found a ready market in Indiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama and Missouri. It was transported in keel-boats up the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, and to St. Louis in the same manner. The inhabitants of the neighboring States would often come hundreds of miles upon horseback and carry away the salt on pack-saddles.

In 1818, Congress gave these lands to Illinois, and the State continued the leasing system, furnishing the kettles. Among the lessees we call to mind Leonard White, Timothy Guard, Chalin Guard, E. D. Taylor and John Crenshaw. The last lease made was to Mr. Crenshaw, December 9, 1840; it was for ten years. He became very wealthy, and at one time exercised a large political influence in that portion of the State.

All the lessees are dead except Mr. Taylor, who is now an old man, and resides at LaSalle.

Under an act of the General Assembly of February 23, 1847, the lands were sold, and the school trustees of T. 9, R. 9, bought that portion containing the salt wells. In 1852, the lands were sold at public auction, and in 1854, Castles & Temple took charge of the property and developed it by an improved system which had its origin in France, and through this system produced two hundred barrels of salt per day. As late as 1870, it was no uncommon thing to see from three to four wagons drawn by from four to six mules, on the road between Equality and Shawneetown, laden with salt for the various markets of the South and West. But in 1873, Castles & Temple, in consequence of the panic, over-production and ruinous prices, closed the works, and engaged in the manufacture of coke and mining, on the same property.

GOVERNOR COLES ON TITLES.

One of the most noted of the Governors of Illinois, was Edward Coles, who was as modest as he was able, as the following letter, which we find in "Washburne's Sketch of Edward Coles," addressed to the editors of the *Illinois Intelligencer*, will show:

" VANDALIA, Dec. 10, 1822.

"GENTLEMEN:—Our State constitution gives to the person exercising the functions of the Executive the appellation of *Governor*—a title which is specific, intelligible and republican, and amply sufficient to denote the dignity of the office. In your last paper you have noticed me by the addition of 'His Excellency,' an aristocratic and high-sounding adjunct, which I am sorry to say has become too common among us, not only in newspaper communications, but in the addressing of letters, and even in familiar discourse. It is a practice disagreeable to my feelings, and inconsistent, as I think, with the dignified simplicity of freemen, and to the nature of the vocation of those to whom it is applied. And having made it a rule through life to address no one as His Excellency, or the Honorable, or by any such unmeaning title, I trust I shall be pardoned for asking it as a favor of you, and my fellow-citizens generally, not to apply them to me.

" I am, &c., &c.,

" EDWARD COLES.

" Messrs. BROWN & BERRY,

" Editors of the *Illinois Intelligencer*."

GEN. LAFAYETTE VISITS ILLINOIS.

When Gen. Lafayette, the great French patriot, who came to America during the revolutionary war, and rendered such valuable aid, with men and money, in prosecuting the war for our independence, visited the United States in 1825, he came to Illinois, at the request of the General Assembly. (See Washburne's Sketch of Coles.) He visited two places, Kaskaskia and Shawneetown. At Kaskaskia, Gov. Coles, who had met the old soldier in Paris seven years previous, made the address of welcome, and he was elegantly entertained by the Governor and

other distinguished citizens. From there he proceeded to Shawneetown, accompanied by Gov. Coles, where the citizens came out *en masse* to welcome him; carpets were spread from the steamboat landing to the Rawlins' mansion, where a grand banquet was tendered him, and the little girls lined his pathway with sweet May flowers, for that was the month in which he was there. The house at which he was entertained in Shawneetown is still standing, but that at Kaskaskia, like the great patriot himself, has long since given way to the cycles of time.

SHAWNEETOWN IN 1817.

In the early settlement of Illinois, Shawneetown, like Kaskaskia, was one of the few important towns in the country. Indeed Shawneetown was the gateway to the Territory. Morris Birkbeck, in his "Notes on a Journey in America," printed in London, in 1818, writing under date of August 2, 1817, speaks thus of Shawneetown:

"This place I account as a phenomenon, evincing the pertinacious adhesion of the human animal to the spot where it has once fixed itself. As the lava of Mt. *Ætna* can not dislodge this strange being from the cities which have been repeatedly ravaged by its eruptions, so the Ohio, with its annual overflowings, is unable to wash away the inhabitants of Shawneetown. Here is the land office for the Southeast district of Illinois, where I have just constituted myself a land-owner, by paying seven hundred and twenty dollars as one-fourth of the purchase money of fourteen hundred and forty acres. This, with a similar purchase made by Mr. Flower, is part of a beautiful and rich prairie, about six miles distant from the Big, and the same distance from the Little, Wabash."

The gentleman referred to here by Mr. Birkbeck, was George Flower, who was one of the founders of the English colony in Edwards county, in 1817-18, which settlement has proved a monument to his memory, for the people who came with him were of the highest order, and Edwards county has ever been famed for the intelligence and good order of its inhabitants.

An act was passed by Congress in 1814, providing for laying off two sections of land in town lots at Shawneetown, which was to be done under the supervision of the Surveyor-General. (See U. S. Laws-at-large, 1818-20.) The same year the town was incorporated by the Legislature. (See Public Laws of Illinois of 1814.)

Mr. Birkbeck was a prominent and honored citizen of Illinois in his day, and took an active part with Gov. Coles in his efforts to prevent Illinois from becoming a slave State. He was Secretary of State from October 15, 1824, to January 15, 1825, when he resigned.

CHAPTER IX.

FOURTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—1824-26.

The Fourth General Assembly convened November 15, 1824, and adjourned January 18, 1825. A second session convened January 2, 1826, and adjourned January 28. Lieut.-Gov. Hubbard presided over the Senate, and Raphael Widen was elected Secretary. Thomas Mather was elected Speaker of the House, and David Blackwell Clerk.

David Blackwell, of St. Clair, became Secretary of State April 2, 1823, and resigned October 15, 1824, and was succeeded by Morris Birkbeck, of Edwards.

Abner Field, of Union, became Treasurer, January 14, 1823.

George Forquer, of Sangamon, became Secretary of State in 1825.

Gov. Coles retired from office December 6, 1826. His administration was an eventful one. He had boldly met

the party which had attempted to make Illinois a slave State, and triumphantly defeated it, and thus preserved our fair inheritance to freedom.

Gov. Coles was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, December 15, 1786; he graduated at William and Mary College; was Private Secretary to President Madison, who sent him on a mission to Russia, in 1817. On his return, in 1818, he removed to Illinois.

After his retirement from the office of Governor he mingled but little in politics, and in 1833 removed to Philadelphia, where he died July 7, 1868. His widow, his eldest son Edward, and a daughter, survived him. Gov. Coles was the companion and friend of such eminent men as Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Nicholas Biddle and James Monroe, with whom he was in frequent correspondence; and he wielded a considerable influence in shaping the affairs of the country.

CHAPTER X.

SLAVERY IN ILLINOIS.

When and How Slaves were Held in Illinois—Gallatin County made an Exception in the Constitution—An Attempt in 1822 to make Illinois a Slave State—Vote of the House of Representatives on the Question—A Hot Campaign before the People—Vote of the State Against Slavery.

Illinois being originally a part of Virginia, there were naturally quite a number of slaves in the Territory when it was ceded to the United States, in 1784, and it was then stipulated that persons who claimed to have been citizens of Virginia prior to the cession should be protected in their property, which meant that they should be protected in the right to hold their slaves. But in 1787, Congress passed

an ordinance which declared that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in the Northwestern Territory, of which Illinois was a part; and it will be observed that the framers of the constitution of 1818 endeavored to carry out the will of Congress. Sections 1, 2 and 8 of Article 6 read thus:

1. "Neither slavery or involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; nor shall any male person, arrived at the age of 21 years, nor female person arrived at the age of 18 years, be held to serve any person as a servant, under any indenture hereafter made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a *bona fide* consideration received or to be received for their service. Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto, hereafter made and executed out of this State, or, if made in this State, where the term of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity, except those given in cases of apprenticeship.

2. "No person bound to labor in any other State, shall be hired to labor in this State, except within the tract reserved for the salt works near Shawneetown, nor even at that place for a longer period than one year at any one time; nor shall it be allowed there after the year 1825. Any violation of this article shall effect the emancipation of such person from his obligation to service.

3. "Each and every person who has been bound to service by contract or indenture in virtue of the laws of Illinois Territory heretofore existing, and in conformity to the provisions of the same, without fraud or collusion, shall be held to a specific performance of their contracts or indentures; and such negroes and mulattoes as have been registered in conformity with the aforesaid laws, shall serve out the time appointed by said laws: *Provided, however,* that the children hereafter born of such person, negroes or mulattoes, shall become free, the males at the age of 21 years, the females at the age of 18 years. Each and every child born of indentured parents, shall be entered with the clerk of the county in which they reside, by their owners, within six months after the birth of said child."

While Illinois was in no true sense a slave State, yet slavery existed in the State until 1840. The United States

Census of 1810, shows that there were 168 slaves in the Territory; that of 1820, that there were 917 in the State; that of 1830, 747; that of 1840, 331, and that of 1850, that the institution had become utterly extinct so far as the force of law governed it. Slavery, however, did not exist in the sense that it did in the slaves States proper, but merely in the form of an indenture.

But the constitution of 1818 did not fully settle the agitation of the slavery question in the State, for a most determined effort was made during the administration of Governor Coles to change the organic law so as to make Illinois a slave State, and the effort seems to have been as dishonest as it was earnest.

In his inaugural address, in December, 1822, Gov. Coles took the ground that, notwithstanding slavery was prohibited by the Ordinance of 1787, and by the constitution itself, yet it existed in Illinois, and he sought to impress upon the attention of the law-making power the idea that the institution was inhuman and morally wrong, and that it was the duty of the General Assembly to pass such laws as would effectually overthrow the institution in whatever form it might exist. But this rational and just recommendation was utterly disregarded by the pro-slavery men, who, being largely in the majority, deliberately went to work to put in motion the machinery by which the constitution was to be so changed as to make of Illinois a slave State. In both houses the pro-slavery men had a large majority; but when the final test came in the House, they lacked one vote of having the required constitutional majority. The journal of the House of that session shows that there had been a contest between Nicholas Hansen, anti-slavery, and John Shaw, pro-slavery, both of Pike county; and that on the 9th of December, 1822, the House declared Hansen entitled to the seat. But when it became evident to the pro-slavery men that they needed one

additional vote to insure the passage of a resolution calling a convention to amend or revise the constitution, Alexander P. Fields, of Union county, moved to reconsider the motion by which Hansen was admitted. This was on the 28th of January, 1823, over two months after Mr. Hansen had been declared entitled to represent his district in that body. It was pretended that some new evidence had been developed, and on this pretext Hansen was unseated and John Shaw admitted in his place. The convention resolution—having previously passed the Senate, needed only the formality of a vote in the House to render its passage certain, and the election for a convention to frame a new constitution was therefore called for the first Monday in August, 1824. The contest was a bitter one from the very first hour the question was mooted, and it grew in bitterness as the canvass progressed.

Speaking of the passage of the convention resolution, Ex-Gov. Reynolds, himself a pro-slavery man, thus refers to the proceedings of the General Assembly: "This proceeding in the General Assembly looked revolutionary, and was condemned by all honest and reflecting men. This outrage was a death-blow to the convention."

Ex-Gov. Ford, in his History of Illinois, bears testimony to the same effect, wherein he says:

"The night after this resolution passed, the convention party assembled to triumph in a great carousal. They formed themselves into a noisy, disorderly, and tumultuous procession, headed by Judge Phillips, Judge Smith, Judge Thomas Reynolds, late Governor of Missouri, and Lieutenant-Governor Kinney, followed by the majority of the Legislature, and the hangers-on and rabble about the seat of Government; and they marched, with the blowing of tin horns and the beating of drums and tin pans, to the residence of Gov. Coles, and to the boarding houses of their principal opponents, towards whom they manifested their contempt and displeasure by a confused medley of groans, wailings and lamentations. Their object was to intimidate, and crush all opposition at once."

The Judge Phillips referred to was then the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, and his appearance in such company and in such a cause, shows how deeply seated was the slave power upon the very vitals of our State. The contest, as we have said, was waged with wonderful energy on both sides. Gov. Coles was the chosen leader of the anti-slavery party, and to his courage and sagacity may be ascribed the fact that Illinois was not cursed with the blight of slavery. We quote another passage from Ford's history, as the best means of getting before the reader the true character of the campaign:

"The anti-convention party took new courage, and rallied to a man. They established newspapers to oppose the convention: one at Shawneetown, edited by Henry Eddy; one at Edwardsville, edited by Hooper Warren, with Gov. Coles, Thomas Lippincott, George Churchill, and Judge Lockwood, for its principal contributors; and finally, one at Vandalia, edited by David Blackwell, the Secretary of State. The slave party had established a newspaper at Kaskaskia, under the direction of Mr. Kane and Chief Justice Reynolds; and one at Edwardsville, edited by Judge Smith; and both parties prepared to appeal to the interests, the passions, and the intelligence of the people. The contest was mixed with much personal abuse; and now was poured forth a perfect avalanche of detraction, which, if it were not for the knowledge of the people that such matters are generally false, or greatly exaggerated, would have overwhelmed and consumed all men's reputations. Morris Birkbeck, an Englishman, who settled an English colony in Edwards county, Gov. Coles, David Blackwell, George Churchill, and Thomas Lippincott, wrote fiery hand-bills and pamphlets, and the old preachers preached against a convention and slavery. Elias K. Kane, Judge Thomas Reynolds, Judge Samuel McRoberts, Judge Smith, and others, wrote hand-bills and pamphlets in its favor. These missive weapons of a fiery contest were eagerly read by the people. The State was almost covered with them; they flew everywhere, and everywhere they scorched and scathed as they flew. This was a long, excited, angry and bitter contest. It was to last from the spring of 1823, until the August election of 1824; the rank and file of the people were no less excited

than their political leaders. Almost every stump in every county had its bellowing orator, on one side or the other; and the whole people, for the space of eighteen months, did scarcely anything but read newspapers, hand-bills and pamphlets, quarrel, argue, and wrangle with each other whenever they met together to hear the violent harangues of their orators. The people decided by about two thousand majority in favor of a free State. Thus, after one of the most bitter, prolonged and memorable contests which ever convulsed the politics of the State, the question of making Illinois a slave State was put to rest."

The vote of the counties, and there were then but thirty in the entire State, as shown by the election returns in the office of the Secretary of State, was, for convention, 4,950; against, 6,822—majority against convention, 1,872.

Subsequently, the question as to the right to hold slaves in the State under the indenture system, was frequently brought before the Supreme Court, but no further attempt was ever made to fasten the institution upon the State through the organic law.

CHAPTER XI.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1826-1830.

The third State government was inaugurated December 6, 1826, with Ninian Edwards, of Madison, as Governor; Wm. Kinney, of St. Clair, Lieutenant-Governor; George Forquer, of Sangamon, Secretary of State and Attorney-General; Elijah C. Berry, Auditor of Public Accounts, and Abner Field, of Union, Treasurer.

The Fifth General Assembly convened December 4, 1826, and adjourned February 9, 1827. Lieut.-Gov. Kinney presided over the Senate, and Emanuel J. West was elected Secretary. John McLean was elected Speaker of the House, and Wm. L. D. Ewing Clerk.

In this Assembly was Wm. S. Hamilton, of Sangamon, a son of Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, who was killed in a duel with Aaron Burr, who was Vice-President under Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Wm. S. Hamilton was born in New York, and came to Illinois in 1817, settling in Sangamon county. He emigrated to Wisconsin in 1827, and from thence to California, where he distinguished himself. He died in that State October 9, 1850, and a monument marks his resting place.

CHAPTER XII.

CAIRO IN 1818.

As far back as 1818, the territory now occupied by the city of Cairo was regarded as one of the best sites in Illinois for a flourishing city, and it will be both interesting and amusing to read the following preamble to an act which was approved January 9, 1818, incorporating the place:

"AND, WHEREAS, the said proprietors represent that there is, in their opinion, no position in the whole of the extent of these Western States better calculated, as respects commercial advantages and local supply, for a great and important city, than that afforded by the junction of these two great highways—the Mississippi and Ohio rivers; but that nature, having denied to the extreme point formed by their union a sufficient degree of elevation to protect the improvements made thereon from the ordinary inundations of the adjacent waters, such elevation is to be found only upon the tract above mentioned (the present site of Cairo), so that improvements made and located thereon may be deemed perfectly and absolutely secure from all such ordinary inundations, and liable to injury only from the concurrence of unusually high and simultaneous inundations in both of said rivers—an event which is alleged

but rarely happens, and the injurious consequences of which it is considered practicable, by proper embankments, wholly and effectually and permanently to obviate. And, whereas, there is no doubt but a city, erected at, or as near as is practicable to, the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, provided it be thus secured by sufficient embankments, or in such other way as experience may prove most efficacious for that purpose, from every such extraordinary inundation—must necessarily become a place of vast consequence to the prosperity of this growing Territory, and, in fact, to that of the greater part of the inhabitants of these Western States. And, whereas, the above named persons are desirous of erecting such city, under the sanction and patronage of the Legislature of this Territory, and also of providing for the security and prosperity of the same, and to that end propose to appropriate the one-third of all the moneys arising from the sale and disposition of the lots into which the same may be surveyed, as a fund for the construction and preservation of such dykes, levees and other embankments as may be necessary to render the same perfectly secure; and, also, if such fund shall be deemed sufficient thereto, for the erection of public edifices and such other improvements in the said city as may be, from time to time, considered expedient and practicable, and to appropriate the other two-thirds parts of the said purchase moneys to the operation of banking." (See Laws of the Session of 1818.)

John G. Comyges, Thomas H. Harris, Charles Slade, Thomas F. Herbert, Shadrach Bond, Michael Jones, Warren Brown, Edward Humphreys and Charles W. Hunter were designated as proprietors of the then prospective city.

In the sixty-six years that have passed since this legislation, Cairo has had a hard struggle for the mastery of the floods. In the spring of 1882-83-84, respectively, the height of the rivers exceeded that of all former years, yet the levees successfully resisted the pressure of the water, which clearly demonstrates that human skill has placed Cairo beyond the power of the floods.

PEORIA IN 1824,

Peoria, now with her forty thousand busy, prosperous people, her many grand railways, her great commerce, her immense manufactories, and her flourishing schools, colleges and churches, had but a feeble existence when Edward Coles was Governor. In a report to the Secretary of the Treasury (See Peck's Gazetteer of 1834), regarding the title to town lots in the then village of Peoria, Mr. Coles made the following minute reference to the early history of the place, which, in view of the great achievements since, is worthy of preserving as a part of the history of the State:

"The village of Peoria is situated on the northwest shore of Lake Peoria, about one and a half miles above the lower extremity or outlet of the lake. This village had been inhabited by the French previous to the recollection of any of the present generation. About the year 1778, the first house was built, in what was then called Laville de Mallet—afterwards the new village of Peoria—and of late the place has been known by the name of Fort Clark. The situation being preferred in consequence of the water being better, and its being thought more healthy, the inhabitants gradually deserted the old village, and, by the year 1796 or 1797, had entirely abandoned it and removed to the new village.

"The inhabitants of Peoria consisted generally of Indian traders, hunters and voyagers, and had formed a link of connection between the French residing on the waters of the great lakes and the Mississippi river. From that happy facility of adapting themselves to their situation and associates, for which the French are so remarkable, the inhabitants of Peoria lived generally in harmony with their savage neighbors. It would seem, however, that about the year 1781, they were induced to abandon their village from the apprehension of Indian hostilities; but soon after the peace of 1783, they again returned to it, and continued to reside there until the autumn of 1812, when they were forcibly removed from it and the place destroyed by a Capt. Craig, of the Illinois militia, on the ground, it was

said, that he and his company were fired on in the night, while at anchor in the boats, before the village, by the Indians, with whom the inhabitants were suspected, by Craig, to be too intimate and friendly. The inhabitants of Peoria, it would appear, and from all I can learn, settled there without any grant or permission from the authority of any government; that the only title they had to the land was derived from possession."

CHAPTER XIII

SIXTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—1828-30.

The Sixth General Assembly convened December 1, 1828, and adjourned January 23, 1829. Lieut.-Gov. Kinney presided over the Senate, and Emanuel J. West served as Secretary. John McLean was elected Speaker of the House, and William L. D. Ewing Clerk.

James Hall, of Jackson, became Treasurer February 12, 1827. Alex. P. Field, of Union, became Secretary of State December 31, 1828.

Ninian Edwards ceased to be Governor December 9, 1830. Mr. Edwards discharged the duties of the Executive with ease to himself and satisfaction to the people, having had nine years experience as Governor of the Territory.

Gov. Edwards was born in Montgomery county, Maryland, March, 1775. He graduated at Dickinson College; studied both medicine and law, but devoted himself to the practice of law. Removing to Kentucky, he was twice elected to the Legislature; he was appointed Circuit Clerk and subsequently Judge of the General Court of Kentucky; Judge of the Circuit Court; Judge of the Court of Appeals, and finally Chief Justice of the State, which position he

resigned to accept the office of Governor of the Territory of Illinois, and, while holding this trust, he had many conflicts with the Indians. Before Congress had adopted any measures on the subject of volunteer rangers, he organized companies, supplied them with arms, built stockade forts, and established a line of posts from the mouth of the Missouri to the Wabash river, and was thus enabled to protect the people against the assaults of the Indians.

Gov. Edwards had three sons, Ninian W., Albert G. and Benjamin S.—all of whom are living; and two daughters, Julia Catherine, who married Daniel P. Cook, and Mary B., who married Joseph S. Lane, of St. Louis, Missouri,—both of whom died some years ago.

Gov. Edwards died July 20, 1833.

CHAPTER XIV.

ALTON AS A RIVAL TO ST. LOUIS.

Alton as a Rival to St. Louis—Massacre at Fort Massac—One of the Landmarks of 1837.

One of the things contemplated in the internal improvement system of this State in 1837, was to make Alton the rival of St. Louis, as a great commercial center; and all who did not bow down to that idea were regarded as common enemies of the State, but it is interesting to know that all our public men did not accept as practical the policy of confining our commerce and the business of our railroads within the limits of the State. Among the projected roads was one from Alton to Mt. Carmel, known as the Southern Cross railroad. Governor Zadok Casey,

father of the well-known Samuel K. Casey, and also of Thomas S. and Newton R. Casey, hardly less well-known, clearly saw the inutility of making Alton its terminus, and made an earnest effort to secure its diversion to St. Louis, but it was unavailing, as the following incident will show: He planned an extensive campaign along the proposed line, and made his opening speech at Fairfield, and, as it turned out, his last one on the subject. A great crowd gathered on the public square of that village, now a thriving little city, and the Governor, a man of fine presence and pleasing address, mounted a goods-box and proceeded to open up the subject in a manner which brought forth hearty applause, but when he suggested St. Louis, instead of Alton, as the terminus of the road, a change came over the spirit of his hearers, and they unceremoniously *assisted him off the box*; and here ended his campaign in the interest of a railroad from Mt. Carmel to St. Louis. But it is creditable to his foresight to say that such a road is now in operation. It is known as the Air-Line, running from Louisville to St. Louis, and traverses the identical section of country mapped out by Gov. Casey forty-six years ago.

MASSACRE AT FORT MASSAC.

Peck's Gazetteer of Illinois, of 1834, gives the following interesting account of an Indian massacre of French soldiers at Fort Massac, in what is now Massac county, when Illinois was owned by the French government:

"Fort Massac, formerly a military post, was situated on the Ohio river, on the dividing line of Johnson and Pope counties, eight miles below Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee. A fort was erected here by the French when in possession of the Western country. The Indians, then at war with them, laid a curious stratagem to take it. A number of them appeared in the day time on the opposite side of the river, each of whom was covered with a bear skin and walked on all fours. Supposing them to

be bears, a party of the French crossed the river in pursuit of them. The remainder of the troops left their quarters, to see the sport.

"In the meantime a large body of warriors, who were concealed in the woods near by, came silently behind the fort, entered it without opposition, and very few of the French escaped the massacre. They afterwards built another fort on the same ground, and called it Massac, in memory of this disastrous event."

On this memorable spot there is not now a vestige of the old fort.

ONE OF THE LANDMARKS OF 1837.

One of the few landmarks of the internal improvement system of 1837, is the bank building of the "Bank of Illinois," of Shawneetown, which was erected in 1838-40. It is of massive stone and brick, four stories high, fifty feet front and ninety feet deep. It is of Doric architecture, with five solid stone columns, forty feet high and sixty inches in diameter. The building, which cost \$3,000, is imposing in appearance, and although constructed forty-six years ago, would grace any of our modern cities. The "Bank of Illinois" had six branches—Galena, Quincy, Alton, Jacksonville, Pekin, and Lawrenceville. The bank and its branches were forced to close business in 1843, and the banking house at Shawneetown was sold some years after to Joel A. Matteson, who started a bank there in 1853 or 1854, in charge of A. B. Safford, as cashier. Subsequently Mr. Safford removed to Cairo, when L. B. Leach took control of it until the war for the Union ensued, when the bank ceased to do business, and Mr. Matteson, fearing that the country would be overrun by the rebels, sold it to Thos. S. Ridgway, for the trifling sum of \$6,500, and since 1865 it has been occupied by the "First National Bank," with John McKee Peeples as President, and Thos. S. Ridgway as Cashier, until the death of Mr. Peeples, when Mr. Ridgway became President, and Wm. D. Phile Cashier.

CHAPTER XV.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1830-34.

The fourth State government was inaugurated December 9, 1830, with John Reynolds, of St. Clair, as Governor; Zadok Casey, of Jefferson, Lieutenant-Governor; Alex. P. Field, of Union, Secretary of State; James T. B. Stapp, of Fayette, Auditor of Public Accounts; James Hall, of Jackson, Treasurer; George Forquer, of Sangamon, Attorney-General.

The Seventh General Assembly convened December 6, 1830, and adjourned February 16, 1831. Lieut.-Gov. Casey presided over the Senate, and Jesse B. Thomas was elected Secretary. Wm. L. D. Ewing was elected Speaker of the House, and David Prickett, Clerk.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROGRESS IN SCHOOLS.

Novel School Laws—School Tax Paid in Produce—Alton the first to Establish a Free School—Normal Schools—Colleges—State Teachers' Association—Prominent Educators—Superintendents of Public Instruction—School Journals.

Among all the grand achievements of our State, there is none of which the people have reason to feel a greater pride than in the progress made in the school system. Its success has been the foundation stone of all other successes, whether moral, religious or industrial. A contemplation of the past and present of the system can not fail to prove both entertaining and instructive, if not amusing.

The General Assembly of 1821 passed an act which authorized Upper Alton to levy a tax not exceeding seventy-five cents on each town lot, to be applied to the support of teachers, erection of school buildings or repairing. The proprietors of Upper Alton having donated one hundred town lots, one-half of which was for the support of the gospel, and the other half for the support of public schools, the act exempted these lots from this tax. Under this act Alton established the first free school, which was declared to be free to all, of suitable age, within the limits of the town. Up to this time no school system had been adopted, and no provision made by the General Assembly for the support of the schools, with the exception of the small amount realized from leasing the school lands. In 1825, the General Assembly passed the first act establishing free schools throughout the State, the preamble of which reads as follows:

"To enjoy our rights and liberties we must understand them; their security and protection ought to be the first object of a free people; and it is a well-established fact, that no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which was not both virtuous and enlightened. And believing that the advancement of literature always has been and ever will be the means of more fully developing the rights of man; that the mind of every citizen in a republic is the common property of society, and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness, it is therefore considered the peculiar duty of a free government, like ours, to encourage and extend the improvement, and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole."

Section one provided that there should be established a common school or schools in each of the counties of the State, which should be open and free to every class of white citizens between the ages of five and twenty-one years; provided, that persons over the age of twenty-one years might be admitted into such schools on such terms as the trustees might prescribe. The schools were wholly

under the direction of the trustees. The county boards in the several counties were required, by the same act, to establish school districts containing not less than fifteen families. The legal voters were given the power to vote an annual tax, either in cash or good merchantable produce, upon the inhabitants of their respective districts, not exceeding one-half per centum, nor amounting to more than ten dollars per annum on any one person, and two dollars out of every hundred received into the State treasury was appropriated for the support of the schools. For the purpose of building or repairing school houses, supplying furniture and fuel, the people could classify themselves and determine the amount of work, material or money, in lieu thereof, each should give. But no one was required to contribute in this way unless he sent a child to school. The tax levy, made in produce, might be transferred to the teacher, who was empowered to make the collection. In case of disagreement as to the price of any produce offered, arbitration was provided for. But this law went further than the wishes of the people, and in 1827 the General Assembly repealed the clause making the appropriation of two dollars from the State treasury, and the law was further amended so that no person might be taxed without his consent. This left the support of the schools so precarious that they made but little progress. In 1829, the General Assembly passed an act which provided for the sale of school and seminary lands, which laid the foundation for the present township fund system.

In 1845, the General Assembly again empowered the districts to vote a tax, but a two-thirds vote was required, and the tax was limited to fifteen cents upon the hundred dollars. This power of taxation was enlarged by the General Assembly in 1849, and again in 1851. But it was not until the enactment of the free school law of 1855, nearly

in the form prepared by Ninian W. Edwards, who had been appointed State Superintendent of Public Instruction the year before, that the school system was put upon a firm basis by the requirement that in each district the schools should be maintained for at least six months in each year, and by granting the school boards power to levy taxes for whatever amount they found necessary for building purposes and for current expenses. And a two-mill State tax for the support of schools was also authorized. From this time our public school system made rapid progress.

The school for the Feeble-Minded at Lincoln, and the schools for the Deaf and Dumb, and for the Blind, at Jacksonville, all supported by the State, are properly considered a part of the State's system of education.

The Industrial University, at Champaign, chartered in 1867, is a State institution of high standing as a school of technology and art, and offers fine facilities for an extended literary course. It is supported mainly by the income from the sale of lands, which were donated by Congress for the establishment of agricultural colleges in the several States, and partially by State aid. Tuition fees are nominal. Dr. Selim H. Peabody, a man of high character and eminent scholarly attainments, is President.

The State maintains two normal schools, one at Normal and the other at Carbondale, partly by the income of college and seminary funds, and partly by direct appropriations from the State treasury. In both, tuition is free to persons intending to teach. Cook county has for years maintained a normal school of high rank, which has been liberally patronized.

In this enlightened age, it would seem hardly necessary for us to allude to the purpose of such schools. In the minds of some of our people there exists a strong prejudice against the Normal School, and frequent attempts

have been made in the General Assembly to have the laws founding it repealed, and, that no reader may be mistaken as to the object of the school, we give place to the following extract, from the biennial report of James P. Slade, Superintendent of Public Instruction, for 1882, bearing upon the subject:

"It is evident that a large portion of our people have no just notion of what the work of a normal school should be, nor of the purpose of such a school. Hence it cannot be repeated too often that a normal school has no legitimate purpose but to fit its pupils to teach and manage schools; that nothing is proper to be done in such a school which does not tend directly to this result, and that with a given body of students, anything essential to fit them for the teacher's work, is legitimate in the work of a normal school."

Professor Slade might have carried his remarks farther. He might have assumed that the Normal schools of our State have been the prime cause of the success of our common school system. From them we have obtained our most successful teachers; and we have not only derived good teachers from our own Normals, but the bright, active men who graduate in the Normals of the Eastern States come West, many of whom locate in Illinois, and become invaluable agents in the school work. The Normal system is no Yankee invention, but it is co-extensive with the civilized world. In Prussia, where the educational standard is of the highest order, no one is allowed to teach who has not a certificate from the Normal; and in our own country the Normal system is growing in greater favor daily. In many of the older States it has become widely founded; in Pennsylvania there are ten of these schools, and in Massachusetts seven, which will suffice to show that our State is not over-taxed in this regard. We could better afford to have more than less. Education is the hope of the world. Let Illinois statesmen do nothing to retard its progress. In closing this subject it is just to say

that our public schools rank with the best in the United States, and in the list of the great States, ours is the third in educational advancement.

In point of Colleges we have made less progress than some of the older States, for the reason that we have not concentrated our energies in that direction. Where other States have taken one or two colleges as a basis on which to create great and grand schools, we have founded many, and the result has been that while we have a number which rank well, yet we have none which have become widely known.

The proud position Illinois occupies, in an educational point of view, is due perhaps as much to the State Teachers' Association as to any other cause. It has really been the power behind the throne. Through its influence came the present school system, the State superintendency, the County superintendency, the Normal and the Industrial University. The primary organization of the association took place at Bloomington on the 26th of December, 1853. The circular calling the meeting was signed by Alexander Starne, Secretary of State and ex-officio Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Presidents and Professors of Shurtleff College, Wesleyan University and Knox College. The Rev. W. Goodfellow was elected President; Rev. H. Spaulding, Thomas Powell and C. C. Bonney, Vice Presidents, and Rev. D. Wilkins Secretary. Committees were appointed to petition the Legislature to create the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and for the passage of an act establishing Normal schools. The next meeting of the Association was held at Peoria, December 26, 1854,—since which time the organization has been kept intact, and each year it has increased in numbers and in usefulness.

In point of education, we hazard the opinion that Illinois is not behind other States. In the great array of men and

women who have been foremost in the school work, we feel free to select the following as having been intimately connected with our educational advancement: Newton Bateman, W. H. Powell, C. E. Hovey, Bronson Murray, Simeon Wright, B. G. Roots, Prof. J. V. N. Standish, W. H. Wells, W. M. Beeker, Dr. Richard Edwards, Ninian W. Edwards, George Howland. J. L. Pickard, E. C. Delano. Thomas Metcalf, H. L. Boltwood, E. L. Wells, E. A. Gastman, Andrew M. Brooks, Flavel Moseley, John C. Dore, Miss Harriet N. Haskell, Miss Anna P. Sill, Mrs. Thomas A. Wood Shimer, Henry Raab, George Bunsen, Julian M. Sturtevant, James H. Blodgett, Dr. Samuel Willard, W. B. Powell, Prof. J. B. Turner, D. S. Wentworth, Samuel M. Etter, James P. Slade, S. W. Moulton, Dr. E. C. Hewett, Dr. Robert Allyn, and David A. Wallace. Messrs. N. W. Edwards, W. H. Powell, Bateman, John P. Brooks, Etter, Slade and Raab, have each been honored with the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, while all of the others have been active workers and held many high trusts in our schools and colleges.

Mr. Edwards was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction by Governor Matteson in 1854, and held the office until January, 1857, when Mr. Powell became his successor through election by the people. Mr. Bateman was elected to the office five different times.

As an auxiliary to the school work, a number of excellent school periodicals and journals have been established in the State, the first of which was the *Illinois Teacher*, published from 1855 to 1872. It was first established by the State Teachers' Association, but later was published as a private enterprise by N. C. Nason, of Peoria. It exercised a marked influence in leading and shaping public opinion upon school questions. Among the journals in existence now, we take pleasure in mentioning the *Illinois School*

Journal, published by John W. Cook, at Normal; *Present Age*, *Practical Teacher*, and the *School Master*, of Chicago.

To review the history of the intellectual advancement of Illinois during the sixty-six years she has been one of the sovereign States of the National Union, is to conclude that, under wise direction and liberal and judicious legislation, we shall continue to advance in literature, art, science and good government.

CHAPTER XVII.

EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—1832-34.

The Eighth General Assembly convened December 8, 1832, and adjourned March 2, 1833. Lieut.-Gov. Casey having resigned, Wm. L. D. Ewing was elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., Secretary. Alex. M. Jenkins was elected Speaker of the House, and David Prickett Clerk.

An able and influential member of this General Assembly was John T. Stuart, of Sangamon. Mr. Stuart was born in Kentucky, November 10, 1807; he graduated at Centerville College, Danville, and having studied law, settled in Illinois. Abraham Lincoln studied law under him. Mr. Stuart served three terms in Congress—1839-41-43 and 1863-65—the first two with ex-President John Quincy Adams, from whom he learned the useful lesson, that it was “better to wear out than rust out.” Though advanced in years, Mr. Stuart is yet hale and hearty. He is the oldest ex-member of Congress and practicing lawyer in the State, being the senior member of the well-known law firm of Stuart, Edwards & Brown.

John Dement, of Franklin, was elected Treasurer in February, 1831.

Gov. Reynolds was elected to Congress in 1834, and resigned the office of Governor November 17, when acting Lieut.-Gov. Ewing became Governor.

Gov. Reynolds was born in Montgomery county, Pennsylvania, February 26, 1789, of Irish parents, who landed in Philadelphia in 1786; he belonged to a company of scouts in the campaigns against the Indians, in 1812 and 1813; he was a lawyer by profession, and prior to his election as Governor, he was a Justice of the Supreme Court, and served one term in the Legislature; he commanded the Illinois volunteers during the Black Hawk war, 1832; he served in the Legislature from 1846 to 1848, and from 1852 to 1854; the last term he was Speaker; he published a pioneer history of Illinois in 1848; "Glance at the Crystal Palace, and Sketches of Travel," in 1854; "My Life and Times," in 1855, and at one time he conducted the Belleville *Eagle*, a daily paper. He died at Belleville May 8, 1865.

MORMON WAR.

Among our early intestine troubles was the Mormon war, led by Joseph Smith, who first organized the Mormon Society, at Fayette, New York, June 1, 1830. It then numbered but thirty members. In 1831, the whole church removed, temporarily, to Kirtland, Ohio, and subsequently located at Independence, Missouri. At that time the sect numbered nearly 2,000. Their assumptions of superiority, their intolerance of "gentiles," and their anti-slavery opinions, made them obnoxious to the people of Missouri. In 1838, the whole colony was violently expelled from that State, and in 1839, the society, in a body, came to Illinois, settling in Hancock county, where they founded a city called Nauvoo. The colony now numbered some 15,000, and among the new accessions were Brigham Young, Orson Hyde, Herber C. Kimball, and Parley P. Pratt. As in Missouri, they soon became unpopular, and

for a series of years there was an open state of warfare existing between them and the "gentiles." Their leaders were repeatedly arrested for violations of law. In June, 1844, there was an uprising of the Mormons against the laws of the State, and Gov. Ford took the field in person, with a militia force, to keep the peace. Joseph Smith and Hiram, his brother, and two or three other leaders, were surrendered to the Governor, upon his pledge of the honor of the State that they should have a fair trial. They were lodged in jail at Carthage, but during the afternoon of June 27th, a mob of 200 disguised men assembled at the jail, overpowered the guard, and shot and killed both of the Smiths. (See Ford's History.)

At the death of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young was elected President, and he hurried forward the building of the great temple, which had been begun by Smith, but from that time forward there was a reign of terror in that section, and Nauvoo was fairly besieged. The temple was completed one day and demolished the next. The war was varied by arson and secret murder, on both sides. In January, 1846, the "high council" announced that a final home was to be sought beyond the Rocky Mountains. The emigration commenced in the following month, but in September, the impatient people of the neighborhood poured in and drove out the little remnant with fire and sword. They settled at Salt Lake, Utah, which was then a part of the possessions of Mexico, and since it became a Territory of the United States, the Mormons have given the General Government quite as much trouble as they gave Illinois.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1834-38.

The fifth State government was inaugurated December 3, 1834, with Joseph Duncan, of Morgan, as Governor; Alex. M. Jenkins, of Jackson, Lieutenant-Governor; Alex. P. Field, of Union, Secretary of State; James P. B. Stapp,

of Fayette, Auditor of Public Accounts; John Dement, of Franklin, Treasurer; Ninian W. Edwards, of Sangamon, Attorney-General.

The Ninth General Assembly convened December 1, 1834, and adjourned February 13, 1835. It convened again December 7, 1835, and adjourned January 18, 1836. Lieut.-Gov. Jenkins presided over the Senate, and Leonard White was elected Secretary. James Semple was elected Speaker of the House, and David Prickett Clerk.

One of the eminent men of this General Assembly was Adam W. Snyder, of Belleville. He was the Democratic nominee for Governor in 1842, but died before the election, when Thomas Ford was nominated in his stead. He was buried at Belleville, and on his tombstone is inscribed these words: "Ye men of genius, tread lightly o'er his grave: he was your kinsman."

Thomas Mather was another member of this body who became widely known, and exercised a controlling influence in the political affairs of the State.

INDIAN WARS.

Like all the Territories of the United States, Illinois had her trials with the Indians, of which there were many tribes, whose conflicts among themselves were more frequent than with the whites, which kept the Territorial, State and National authorities under arms for many years in order to subdue them. In 1827, we had what is called the Winnebago War. In June of that year we had an engagement with the Winnebagoes in the Galena country, in which their Chief, Red Bird, was compelled to surrender, which terminated the war. Red Bird was kept in jail a long time, and we are told by Ford that he died in prison the victim of regret and sorrow for the loss of his liberty. The Black Hawk War, which is minutely described by Ford, prevailed from the spring of 1831 to August 1832, and culminated in the battle of Bad Axe, on

the Mississippi river, August 2, in which the Indians were utterly routed. Black Hawk and a number of his tribe were taken prisoners, and afterward conveyed to Washington, where they had an interview with President Jackson, whom Black Hawk addressed as follows:

"I am a man and you are another. We did not expect to conquer the white people. I took up the hatchet to revenge injuries, which could no longer be borne. Had I borne them longer, my people would have said, Black Hawk is a squaw,—he is too old to be a chief,—he is no Sac. This caused me to raise the war-whoop. I say no more of it. All is known to you. Keokuk once was here; you took him by the hand, and when he wanted to return you sent him back to his nation. Black Hawk expects that, like Keokuk, we will be permitted to return, too."

From Washington they were taken to Fortress Monroe, where they remained prisoners until the 4th of June, 1833, when they were returned to their own country, by order of the President. Black Hawk lived until the 3d of October, 1840, when he was gathered to his fathers at the age of eighty years, and was buried on the banks of the great river where he had spent most of his life.

The Winnebago War terminated under the Administration of Gov. Edwards, and the Black Hawk under that of Gov. Reynolds.

After the battle of Bad Axe the several Indian tribes turned their faces toward the setting sun, and we have now no visible recollections of them save through the mounds they builded, the counties, rivers, towns and cities which bear their names, and "Starved Rock," a most wonderful memento, which is situated on the east side of the Illinois river, a mile distant from Utica, LaSalle county. It stands two hundred feet above the level of the river, and its surface is equal to a half acre of ground, and is heavily studded with timber. It is perpendicular on all sides, except the southeast, where a natural rock stairway leads to the cavern, high up in the rock, which is capable of holding

many persons. Peck's *Gazetteer of Illinois*, issued in 1834, has this to say of an incident connected with this famous rock, and from which it derived its name:

"Tradition says that after the Illinois Indians had killed Pontiac, the French Governor, at Detroit, the northern Indians made war upon them. A band of the Illinois, in attempting to escape, took shelter on this rock, which they soon made inaccessible to their enemies, and where they were closely besieged. They had secured provisions, but their only resource for water was by letting down vessels with bark ropes to the river. The wily besiegers contrived to come in canoes under the rock and cut off their buckets, by which means the unfortunate Illinois were starved to death. Many years after, their bones were whitening on this summit."

TENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—1836-38.

The Tenth General Assembly convened December 15, 1846, and adjourned March 6, 1837. It convened again July 10, 1837, and adjourned July 22, 1837. Lieut-Gov. Jenkins having resigned, William H. Davidson was elected President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., Secretary. James Semple was elected Speaker of the House, and David Prickett Clerk.

This was the General Assembly which put in operation the Internal Improvement system of 1837, of which we speak in detail in a subsequent chapter. In this body were many able, intellectual men. In the Senate, O. H. Browning, Cyrus Edwards, William J. Gatewood and John Whiteside; and in the House, Edward D. Baker, John Dement, John Dougherty, Stephen A. Douglas, Jesse K. Dubois, Ninian W. Edwards, Wm. L. D. Ewing, Augustus C. French, John J. Hardin, Abraham Lincoln, U. F. Linder, John A. McClernand, William A. Richardson, James Semple and James Shields,—all of whom afterward won distinction.

We have spoken elsewhere of most all these men, and will be excused if we digress to say a word of Col. Edward D. Baker, who was born in England, brought to this country when a child, and was early left an orphan in Philadelphia. His father was a weaver, and when a boy he worked at that business himself. He obtained an education under many difficulties; first studied for the ministry, but soon turned his attention to the law, becoming famous as an advocate. He was serving in Congress when the Mexican war ensued, but resigned his seat and went to Mexico as a Colonel of volunteers, acquitting himself with credit at the battle of Cerro Gordo. On his return to Illinois he was re-elected to Congress from the Galena district. In 1852, he settled in San Francisco, devoting himself to his profession; he subsequently removed to Oregon, which State he represented as a Senator in Congress, taking his seat in March, 1861. At the outbreak of the Rebellion he raised a regiment, and while gallantly leading it in battle at Leesburg, Virginia, against a superior force, he was shot from his horse and killed, October 21, 1861. Col. Baker was a man of great intellectual ability, and in his day was not excelled as an orator.

Governor Duncan was born in Kentucky in 1790; he was self-educated; was an ensign at the brilliant defense of Fort Stephenson under Col. Croghan, for which he received from Congress the testimonial of a sword, February 13, 1835. He settled in Illinois, and was soon elected Major-General of Militia. Prior to his election as Governor, he was a Senator in the Legislature, and originated the law which established common schools in the State, and was a Representative in Congress from 1827 to 1835, resigning his seat to become Governor. He died at Jacksonville, Florida, January 15, 1844.

Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., became Attorney-General February 12, 1835; Walter B. Scates succeeded him January

18, 1836, and U. F. Linder succeeded Scates February 4, 1837. Levi Davis became Auditor of Public Accounts November 16, 1835. Charles Gregory became Treasurer, December 5, 1836; he was succeeded by John D. Whiteside March 4, 1837.

FIRST AND ONLY DUEL IN ILLINOIS.

In Ford's History we find this account of the first and only duel in Illinois:

"The year 1820 was signalized by the first and last duel which was ever fought in Illinois. This took place in Belleville, St. Clair county, between Alphonso Stewart and William Bennett, two obscure men. The seconds had made it up to be a sham duel, to throw ridicule upon Bennett, the challenging party. Stewart was in the secret, but Bennett, his adversary, was left to believe it a reality. They were to fight with rifles; the guns were loaded with blank cartridges; and Bennett, somewhat suspecting a trick, rolled a ball into his gun, without the knowledge of his seconds, or of the other party. The word to fire was given, and Stewart fell, mortally wounded. Bennett made his escape, but two years afterwards he was captured in Arkansas, brought back to the State, indicted, tried and convicted of murder. A great effort was made to procure him a pardon, but Gov. Bond would yield to no entreaties in his favor, and Bennett suffered the extreme penalty of the law, by hanging, in the presence of a great multitude of people.

"This was the first and last duel ever fought in the State by any of its citizens. The hanging of Bennett made dueling discreditable and unpopular, and laid the foundation for that abhorrence of the practice which has ever since been felt and expressed by the people of Illinois."

There were afterward some pretences at duels between some of the distinguished men of the State, notably that of 1842, between James Shields and Abraham Lincoln, which was caused by the publication of an article in a newspaper, the *Sangamo Journal*, reflecting on the official conduct of Shields, while Auditor of State; and between Shields and Wm. Butler, growing out of the same matter. But the framers of the constitution of 1848 put an

end to the barbarous practice, in a summary manner, in the adoption of Section 25 of Article 13, which is in these words:

"Any person who shall, after the adoption of this constitution, fight a duel, or send or accept a challenge for that purpose, or be aider or abettor in fighting a duel, shall be deprived of the right of holding any office of honor or profit in this State, and shall be punished otherwise, in such manner as is or may be prescribed by law."

The framers of the constitution of 1870, doubtless believing that the civilization of the age was against dueling, did not carry that provision into the new constitution, thus leaving public opinion to frown down the code.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1838-42.

The sixth State government was inaugurated December 7, 1838, with Thomas Carlin as Governor; Stinson H. Anderson, Lieutenant-Governor; Alexander P. Field, Secretary of State; Levi Davis, Auditor of Public Accounts; John D. Whiteside, Treasurer; George W. Olney, Attorney-General.

The Eleventh General Assembly convened December 3, 1838, and adjourned March 4, 1839. In 1839, the capital was removed to Springfield, and a second session convened there December 9, and adjourned February 3, 1840.

Lieut.-Gov. Anderson presided over the Senate, and Benjamin Bond was elected Secretary. William L. D. Ewing was elected Speaker of the House, and David Prickett Clerk.

There was quite a number of eminent men in this Legislature, among whom we mention Isaac P. Walker, who subsequently emigrated to Wisconsin, and was elected a United States Senator from that State in 1848.

CHAPTER XVIII.

HOW A CHALLENGE WAS AVOIDED.

This laughable, not to say serious, incident in the early life of Dr. Isaac Vandeenter, is related to us by one who was cognizant of the affair, and knew all of the parties mentioned. When W. A. Richardson was elected to the State Senate in 1838, his opponent was Dr. Isaac Vandeenter, a Whig, and one of the purest men in the State, but wholly ignorant of party usages or practices. He had been selected by the Whigs as the man most likely to defeat Richardson, for the District was largely Democratic, and T. Lyle Dickey, now of the Supreme bench, and James W. Singleton, since a member of Congress, then both young men, undertook the management of his campaign. When the returns came in, it was found that Richardson had beaten him only four or five votes; and investigation showed that, on Sugar Creek, seven or eight illegal votes had been cast for him, some of which were polled by men having in their veins African blood. Dickey and Singleton resided at Rushville, and they sent for Vandeenter to come and see them, with the view of instituting proceedings to contest the election. Contesting was regarded as unpopular, and to throw the burden on Richardson, they induced Vandeenter to send him a letter, setting forth the fact that he claimed to be the Senator elect, and to save expense and trouble, to request Richardson to resign his certificate and run the race over at a special election,—to which Richardson replied, in

substance, that he was fairly elected, but had no objections to running the race over, provided he could be assured that the Doctor would "stay beat," and if he would give bond, with approved security, to that effect, he would consent to make the race over.

Dickey and Singleton were indignant, and insisted that it was a personal insult, that could only "be wiped out in blood," and urged Vandeventer to challenge Richardson, and consenting to do so, they undertook the preparation of the letter inviting the hostile meeting. Vandeventer went to his hotel for dinner and was to return to Dickey's office at 1 o'clock that day and sign the challenge, and then one of them was to bear it to Richardson, but 1 o'clock came, 2, and then 3, and Vandeventer came not; and on inquiry it was ascertained that he had paid his bill and left for home. Thus ended the duel and the contest, for Dr. Vandeventer was never again seen in Mr. Dickey's office.

TWELFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—1840-42.

The Twelfth General Assembly convened November 23, 1840, and adjourned December 5. It convened again December 7, and adjourned March 1, 1841.

Lieut.-Gov. Anderson presided over the Senate, and Merritt L. Covell was elected Secretary. William L. D. Ewing was elected Speaker of the House, and John Calhoun Clerk.

Wickliffe Kitchell became Attorney-General, March 5, 1839; Stephen A. Douglas, Secretary of State, November 30, 1840; James Shields, Auditor of Public Accounts, March 4, 1841, and Milton Carpenter, Treasurer, March 6, 1841.

Josiah Lamborn, of Morgan, became Attorney-General, December 3, 1840.

Gov. Carlin was born in Kentucky, July 18, 1789; he was self-educated; removed to Illinois in 1812; his first

office was Sheriff of Greene county; in 1834, President Jackson appointed him Receiver of Public Moneys. He was Governor at the time Illinois became overwhelmingly involved in debt through the internal improvement system, and he used his best ability in piloting the ship of State through the financial storm. After his term as Governor he removed to Carrollton, and in 1849, was elected Representative to the Legislature, vice J. D. Fry, resigned. He died February 14, 1852.

CHICAGO.

No city in the world has had so prosperous or marvelous a growth as Chicago, and a history of Illinois would not be complete without a special reference to this great and grand metropolis. The Gazetteer of 1823 describes Chicago as "a village in Pike county, situated on Lake Michigan, near Chicago creek, containing twelve or fifteen houses and about sixty or seventy inhabitants."

Chicago was first laid out as a town in the autumn of 1829. The first map made of the place was drawn by James Thompson, and bears date of August 4, 1830. Cook county, of which Chicago is the county seat, was not organized until January 15, 1831. The first steamer to enter the port was in 1832. Gen. Winfield Scott was a passenger, *en route* to take part in the conference of the army, which related to the treaty of peace with Black Hawk, who had been utterly routed at the battle of Bad Axe. The year 1833 was signalized by the establishment of a postoffice and weekly mail; the same year a town government was organized, and a weekly newspaper, entitled the *Chicago Democrat*, was founded by John Calhoun. In 1836, the then great enterprise of the western world, the Illinois and Michigan Canal, was inaugurated. In 1837, the Legislature passed an act incorporating the City of Chicago, (see House and Senate Journals of 1837), and in the

May following the city was organized under that charter, and William B. Ogden was elected mayor. The population of the city was then but 4,179. The records of the office of the Secretary of State show that Chicago has been listed as one of the towns of the State in eight different counties: first as being in St. Clair; then Madison; then Edwards; then Crawford; then Clark; then Pike; then attached to Fulton temporarily; then Putnam; then it occupied a place in what is known as unorganized territory, and then the county of Cook was organized.

The first railroad built to Chicago was the Galena and Chicago Union, the first ten miles of which was constructed in 1847. Now that road forms a part of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway, whose main lines and branches number 3,584 miles of magnificent railway, reaching far out into the broad domain of the great West.

When the great fire of October, 1871, laid the city in ashes, it had acquired a population of 334,270. Within twelve months after, the city was rebuilt upon a grander scale than before. The United States census of 1880 gave the city a population of 503,000; and from a single railroad in 1847, they have multiplied to twenty-one, which aggregate, in miles, 21,394, and radiate to all points of the compass.

New York and Boston have, respectively, according to the United States census of 1880, populations of 1,200,000 and 350,000. In these cities one sees the growth of over two hundred years, or ten generations, and the relics of colonial times, while in Chicago is seen the growth of less than fifty years, and a population, as shown by the same census, of 503,000.

From that single weekly newspaper the press has magnified indefinitely, and in character, power and circulation is not surpassed, if equaled, by that of any city in the world.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1842-46.

The seventh State government was inaugurated December 8, 1842, with Thomas Ford, of Ogle, as Governor; John Moore, of McLean, Lieutenant-Governor; Lyman Trumbull, of St. Clair, Secretary of State; James Shields, of Randolph, Auditor of Public Accounts; Milton Carpenter, of Hamilton, Treasurer; Josiah Lamborn, Attorney-General.

The Thirteenth General Assembly convened December 5, 1842, and adjourned March 6, 1843. Lieut.-Gov. Moore presided over the Senate, and Isaac S. Berry was elected Secretary. Samuel Hackelton was elected Speaker of the House, and Wm. L. D. Ewing Clerk.

There were many strong men, intellectually, in this body. The names which will sound familiar to the reader are Orlando B. Ficklin, of Coles; Gustavus Kœrner, of St. Clair; Stephen T. Logan, of Sangamon; John A. McClelland, of Gallatin, now of Sangamon; and ex-Lieut.-Gov. Pierre Menard, of Tazewell, all of whom attained prominence, and have often been honored with various public trusts.

CHAPTER XIX.**MURDER OF ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY.**

Establishment of his Press in St. Louis—Its Removal to Alton—Its Destruction by a Mob—Re-establishment of the Paper—An Attempt to Tar and Feather Lovejoy—Meeting of the Citizens of Alton to Compel him to Abandon the Publication of his Paper—A Brave Speech in Self-Defense—Murder of Lovejoy and Destruction of His Fourth and Last Press—His Funeral.

In all her history, Illinois has never been famed for deeds of cruelty and wrong; but one of the most terrible

crimes, which stands as a living disgrace in the history of Illinois, is the heartless murder of Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, brother of the late Owen Lovejoy, by a pro-slavery mob at Alton, on the night of November 7, 1837. The event is worthy of more than a passing mention. Mr. Lovejoy was the editor of the *Alton Observer*, a religious paper, which had been originally started in St. Louis in 1833, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, which he conducted for nearly three years; but in June, 1836, the owners, fearing that the press would be destroyed by mob violence, determined to remove it to Alton, and it had hardly been packed for shipment before a lawless body of men entered the premises and carried away a portion of the press and type and threw them into the Mississippi river. The remnant was shipped to Alton, arriving there on Sunday; but the mob spirit of St. Louis had preceded Mr. Lovejoy, and that night a mob collected and threw what was left of the printing office and Mr. Lovejoy's household furniture into the river. Next day, however, the better class of citizens assembled in a public meeting, denounced the action of the mob in the strongest terms, and subscribed money sufficient to buy another printing office and reimburse Mr. Lovejoy in his personal losses; and on the 8th of September the first number of the *Alton Observer* made its appearance; but in Alton Mr. Lovejoy's life and property were as much at the mercy of the whims of the pro-slavery outlaws as they had been in St. Louis, and he was never free from personal insult or assault; he was pursued by day and by night, at home and abroad; four times was his press destroyed, and in defending the last he fell a martyr to the cause of free speech and free press.

It is generally understood that Mr. Lovejoy was an extreme abolitionist, but a careful reading of the utterances of his paper, as reproduced in his Life, written by

his brother Owen warrants us in saying, that he was simply an emancipationist.

In Tanner's Martyrdom of Lovejoy, we find the following incident, illustrative of the moral courage of Mr. Lovejoy:

"On one occasion, some eight or ten citizens of Alton determined to tar and feather him and then send him adrift in a canoe down the Mississippi river. He lived at Hunterstown about three-quarters of a mile from Alton, and between ten and eleven o'clock at night, while on his way to a drug store in Alton to procure some medicine for his wife, he was met by these men, all disguised, who stopped him and at once disclosed to him their purpose. With the most perfect composure he replied: 'Gentlemen, I have but a single request to make of you; my wife is dangerously ill, and it is necessary that she should have this prescription, which I was on the way to town to procure. Will one of you take it and see that it is delivered at the house, but without intimating what is about to befall me? I am in the hands of God, and am ready to go with you.' For a few moments entire silence reigned, which was broken by a physician, who made up in part the disguised party, exclaiming: 'Boys, I cannot lay my hands on as brave a man as this,' and, turning away, was followed by his accomplices, and Mr. Lovejoy was spared the degradation of being tarred and feathered."

It would seem that Mr. Lovejoy had resigned himself to fate and was ready for the worst; but he did not have long to wait for the culmination of the outrages which had followed his pathway for so many years. On the 2d of November, a public meeting of the citizens of Alton was held to take action in regard to the further publication of the *Observer* under his editorship, and after the appointment of a committee to prepare resolutions expressive of the sense of the people of the community, adjourned until the 8d. On the reassembling of the meeting, the committee, through its chairman, Cyrus Edwards, then a Whig State Senator, reported the resolutions, the purport of which was that Mr. Lovejoy should abandon the publication of the *Observer*. U. F. Linder, a member of the

committee, and then the Attorney-General of the State, supported the passage of the resolutions in a speech of much earnestness; and as Mr. Lovejoy was present, he was permitted to reply in his own behalf. We copy his remarks in full, as we find them printed in a little volume published in 1838, by Rev. Edward Beecher, brother of Henry Ward Beecher:

"I feel, Mr. Chairman, that this is the most solemn moment of my life. I feel, I trust, in some measure, the responsibilities which, at this hour, I sustain to these, my fellow citizens, to the church of which I am a minister, to my country, and to God. And let me beg of you, before I proceed further, to construe nothing I shall say as being disrespectful to this assembly. I have no such feeling; far from it. And if I do not act or speak according to their wishes at all times, it is because I can not conscientiously do it.

"It is proper I should state the whole matter, as I understand it, before this audience. I do not stand here to argue the question, as presented by the report of the committee. My whole wonder is that the honorable gentleman (Hon. Cyrus Edwards, Senator from Madison county, and the Whig candidate for Governor), the chairman of that committee, for whose character I entertain great respect, though I have not the pleasure of his personal acquaintance, my only wonder is how that gentleman could have brought himself to submit such a report.

"Mr. Chairman, I do not admit that it is the business of this assembly to decide whether I shall or shall not publish a newspaper in this city. The gentlemen have, as the lawyers say, made a wrong issue. I have the right to do it. I know that I have the right freely to speak and publish my sentiments, subject only to the laws of the land for the abuse of that right. This right was given me by my Maker; and is solemnly guaranteed to me by the Constitution of these United States and of this State. What I wish to know of you is, whether you will protect me in the exercise of this right; or whether, as heretofore, I am to be subjected to personal indignity and outrage. These resolutions, and the measures proposed by them, are spoken of as a compromise—a compromise between two parties. Mr. Chairman, this is not so. There is but one party here. It is simply a question whether the law shall be enforced, or whether the mob shall be allowed,

as they do now, to continue to trample it under their feet, by violating with impunity the rights of an innocent individual.

"Mr. Chairman, what have I to compromise? If freely to forgive those who have so greatly injured me, if to pray for their temporal and eternal happiness, if still to wish for the prosperity of your city and State, notwithstanding all the indignities I have suffered in it; if this be the compromise intended, then do I willingly make it. My rights have been shamefully, wickedly outraged; this I know, and feel, and can never forget. But I can and do freely forgive those who have done it.

"But if by a compromise is meant that I should cease from doing that which duty requires of me, I cannot make it. And the reason is, that I fear God more than I fear man. Think not that I would lightly go contrary to public sentiment around me. The good opinion of my fellow-men is dear to me, and I would sacrifice anything but principle to obtain their good wishes; but when they ask me to surrender this, they ask for more than I can—than I dare give. Reference is made to the fact that I offered a few days since to give up the editorship of the 'Observer' into other hands. This is true. I did so, because it was thought or said by some that perhaps the paper would be better patronized in other hands. They declined accepting my offer, however, and since then we have heard from the friends and supporters of the paper in all parts of the State. There was but one sentiment among them, and this was that the paper could be sustained in no other hands than mine. It is also a very different question, whether I shall voluntarily, or at the request of friends, yield up my post; or whether I shall forsake it at the demand of a mob. The former I am at all times ready to do, when circumstances occur to require it, as I will never put my personal wishes or interests in competition with the cause of that Master whose minister I am. But the latter, be assured, I *never* will do. God, in his providence—so say all my brethren, and so I think,—has devolved upon me the responsibility of maintaining my ground here; and, Mr. Chairman, I am determined to do it. A voice comes to me from Maine, from Massachusetts, from Connecticut, from New York, from Pennsylvania; yea, from Kentucky, from Mississippi, from Missouri, calling upon me in the name of all that is dear in heaven or earth, to stand fast; and by the help of God, I *will stand*. I

know I am but one, and you are many. My strength would avail but little against you all. You can crush me if you will; but I shall die at my post, for I can not, and will not, forsake it.

"Why should I flee from Alton? Is not this a free State? When assailed by a mob at St. Louis, I came hither, as to the home of freedom and of the law. The mob has pursued me here, and why should I retreat again? Where can I be safe, if not here? Have I not a right to claim the protection of the law? What more can I have in any other place? Sir, the very act of retreating will embolden the mob to follow me wherever I go. No, sir; there is no way to escape the mob, but to abandon the path of duty; and that, God helping me, I will never do.

"It has been said here, that my hand is against every man, and every man's hand is against me. The last part of the declaration is too painfully true. I do indeed find almost every hand lifted against me; but against whom in this place has my hand been raised? I appeal to every individual present; whom of you have I injured? Whose character have I traduced? Whose family have I molested? Whose business have I meddled with? If any, let him rise here and testify against me. No one answers.

"And do not your resolutions say that you find nothing against my private or personal character? And does any one believe that if there was anything to be found, it would not be found and brought forth? If, in anything, I have offended against the law, I am not so popular in this community as that it would be difficult to convict me. You have courts, and judges, and juries; they find nothing against me. And now you come together for the purpose of driving out a confessedly innocent man, for no cause but that he dares to think and speak as his conscience and his God dictates. Will conduct like this stand the scrutiny of your country? of posterity? above all, of the judgment-day? For, remember, the Judge of that day is no respecter of persons. Pause, I beseech you, and reflect. The present excitement will soon be over; the voice of conscience will at last be heard. And at some season of honest thought, even in this world, as you review the scenes of this hour, you will be compelled to say, 'He was right; he was right.'

"But you have been exhorted to be lenient and compassionate; and in driving me away to affix no unnecessary disgrace upon me. Sir, I reject all such compassion. You can not disgrace me. Scandal and falsehood and calumny

have already done their worst. My shoulders have borne the burthen till it sits easy upon them. You may hang me up, as the mob hung up the individuals of Vicksburg! You may burn me at the stake, as they did McIntosh at St. Louis; or, you may tar and feather me, or throw me into the Mississippi, as you have often threatened to do, but you can not disgrace me. I, and I alone, can disgrace myself; and the deepest of all disgrace would be, at a time like this, to deny my Master by forsaking his cause. He died for me; and I were most unworthy to bear his name, should I refuse, if need be, to die for him.

"Again, you have been told that I have a family, who are dependent on me; and this has been given as a reason why I should be driven off as gently as possible. It is true, Mr. Chairman, I am a husband and a father; and this it is that adds the bitterest ingredient to the cup of sorrow I am called to drink. I am made to feel the wisdom of the apostle's advice: 'It is better not to marry.' I know, sir, that in this contest I stake not my life only, but that of others also. I do not expect my wife will ever recover from the shock received at the awful scenes, through which she was called to pass, at St. Charles. And how was it the other night, on my return to my house? I found her driven to the garret, through fear of the mob, who were prowling round my house. And scarcely had I entered the house ere my windows were broken in by the brickbats of the mob; and she so alarmed, that it was impossible for her to sleep or rest that night. I am hunted as a partridge upon the mountains; I am pursued as a felon through your streets; and to the guardian power of the law I look in vain for that protection against violence, which even the vilest criminal makes claim.

"Yet, think not that I am unhappy. Think not that I regret the choice that I have made. While all around me is violence and tumult, all is peace within. An approving conscience, and the rewarding smile of God, is a full recompense for all that I forego and all that I endure. Yes, sir, I enjoy a peace which nothing can destroy. I sleep sweetly and undisturbed, except when awakened by the brickbats of the mob.

"No, sir, I am not unhappy. I have counted the cost, and stand prepared freely to offer up my all in the service of God. Yes, sir, I am fully aware of all the sacrifice I make, in here pledging myself to continue this contest to the last. (Forgive these tears,—I had not

intended to shed them, and they flow not for myself, but others.) But I am commanded to forsake father and mother, and wife and children, for Jesus' sake; and as his professed disciple I stand prepared to do it. The time for fulfilling this pledge in my case, it seems to me, has come. Sir, I dare not flee away from Alton. Should I attempt it, I should feel that the angel of the Lord, with his flaming sword, was pursuing me wherever I went. It is because I fear God that I am not afraid of all who oppose me in this city. No, sir, the contest has commenced here; and here it must be finished. Before God and you all, I here pledge myself to continue it, if need be, till death. If I fall, my grave shall be made in Alton."

The speech of Mr. Lovejoy, powerful as it was, failed to allay the madness of the hour; and he was followed in reply by Rev. John Hogan, a Methodist minister, who afterwards figured, to some extent, in the politics of St. Louis, in a speech of much bitterness, and when he concluded, resolutions 1, 2 and 4 were unanimously adopted, while 3, 5 and 6, those which counseled peace and order, were rejected, and, four days after, Lovejoy lost his life at the hands of the mob.

We give place to an account of the affair by Mr. Tanner, who was in the warehouse at the time as one of the defenders of the property:

"We have now arrived at the fatal night of the 7th of November, 1837, and I give the details of the occurrence from personal notes of my own. The fourth press had been shipped to Alton from Cincinnati, and had been received in the dead of the night on the 6th by the friends of Mr. Lovejoy, in presence of the mayor, and taken to its final destination. We were fully prepared to receive and defend it, having, in the building, about sixty men, well armed and drilled, stationed on different floors in squads or companies of sufficient strength to do full execution if the mob should attempt to take the press when landed from the boat.

"All was quiet in the city, and we considered the press safe from harm, as it lay on storage with the most responsible and most respected firm in the city. As night approached, we gathered in the building to talk over the

situation, and congratulated each other on peace. About nine o'clock the company of men began to disperse to their homes, when Mr. Gilman asked if some few of the number would not volunteer to remain through the night with him, for he intended staying, as a precaution in case the warehouse was attacked. Nineteen men answered the call, and the devoted little band prepared themselves for whatever might occur. An hour elapsed before any signs of disturbance were noticed, but then it was evident that a mob was gathering. Messrs. Keating and West asked permission to enter into the warehouse to confer with Mr. Gilman, and being admitted, informed us that unless the press was given up the building would be burned over our heads. We had, early in the evening, selected for our captain, Enoch Long, who had seen some service, thinking occasion might require concerted action on our part. His method of defense was much milder than some of us advocated, for we considered it best to fire on the mob and make short work of it; but he commanded that no one should shoot without his order, an order which, from mistaken motives of mercy, he hesitated to give until it was too late to intimidate the besiegers.

"The crowd gathered and attempted to force an entrance, but were temporarily checked in consequence of the order of our captain to one of his men to fire upon them in return for their shot, which had entered the building. Our shot proved fatal, killing one of the mob, whose name was Bishop. The lull was short; the mob returned, reinforced by ruffians who had been drinking, and with savage yells they shouted that they would 'fire the building and shoot every d—d Abolitionist as he tried to make his escape!' No orders were given us for concentrated fire at any time; it was all hap-hazard, and every man did as he thought best. At this juncture, the mayor appeared, and we asked him to lead us out to face the mob, and, if they would not disperse upon his command, that he should order us to fire upon them. His answer was, that he had too much regard for our lives to do that, but at the same time he most distinctly justified us in our defense. He attempted, afterward, to disperse them himself, but his power was gone—they merely laughed at his authority, as his weak and nerveless treatment of them on former occasions had destroyed all his influence as a magistrate.

"Attempts were now made to fire the building, and against one side, in which there were no openings, a

ladder was placed to reach the roof, on which a man ascended with a burning torch. Captain Long called for volunteers to make a sortie, in order to prevent the accomplishment of their purpose, and Amos B. Roff, Royal Weller, and Elijah P. Lovejoy promptly stepped forth to execute his order. As they emerged from the building, shots were fired from behind a shelter, and five balls were lodged in the body of Mr. Lovejoy, others wounding Mr. Roff and Mr. Weller. Mr. Lovejoy had strength enough to run back and up the stairs, crying out as he went, 'I am shot! I am shot! I am dead!' When he reached the counting-room, he fell back into the arms of a bystander, and was laid upon the floor, where he instantly passed away without a struggle, and without speaking again.

"Soon Messrs. Keating and West again approached the building, and informed Mr. Gilman that the roof was on fire, but that 'the boys' would put it out if the press should be given up—that was what they wanted—and nothing should be destroyed or any one harmed if the surrender was made. Mr. Gilman, consulting with us all, said that there was property of great value on storage, and the interest of firms all over the State were represented, that he felt great responsibility, as Mr. Godfrey, his partner, was absent. To save these interests, he thought the building had better be abandoned and the press given up. Others coinciding in the opinion, it was decided to surrender the press, on condition that the mob would not enter the warehouse until we had left, and further, that our departure should be without molestation. These terms being accepted, we secreted our arms, and left the building together, but we were hardly out before the rioters broke their truce and more than a hundred bullets passed harmlessly over our heads. The fire in the warehouse was extinguished, and the press was taken out and destroyed.

"The next morning we returned to where the dead body of Lovejoy lay, and removed it to his late home.

"His wife was absent at the house of a friend, so prostrated by the shock of these terrible events that her life was despaired of for many days. Owen Lovejoy received the corpse of his brother at the house, and preparations for the funeral, to take place the following day, were then made.

"It was a rainy, depressing day, and I well remember now how Abram Breath, still a resident of Alton, and

myself walked together, through mud and water, to the grave. The burial service was simple, consisting merely of prayers, by Mr. Lovejoy's constant friend, the Rev. Thomas Lippincott; no remarks being made, lest the mob should disturb the last sacred rites of our beloved friend. There had been no inquest over his body, no flowers were strewn over his coffin. Mob-law not only reigned, but was insultingly triumphant.

"It was thought that the silence of death, under such circumstances, well became the burial of Liberty."

At the time this murder was perpetrated, Henry Clay was a United States Senator from Kentucky, and he boldly advocated gradual emancipation, in Congress, with the same freedom that he would have supported an appropriation bill, and went forth in the discharge of his daily duties without the fear of molestation by anybody. Yet in Illinois Elijah P. Lovejoy could not write or print his views upon the same subject without having his property destroyed, being himself personally abused and at last murdered by an infuriated mob.

But the crowning act of this heartless outrage was the utter neglect of the courts to take cognizance of the murder of Lovejoy.

John Carroll Power, custodian of the National Lincoln Monument, who visited the burial place of Lovejoy in 1870, writes that his grave was left unmarked by a stone until 1864, when Thomas Dimmick, a citizen of Alton, visited Boston, and procured a neat granite pedestal 25x30 inches and 15 inches high, with a white marble slab 17x26 inches, which bears this simple inscription:

HIC JACIT
LOVEJOY;
I am parce Sepulto.

CHAPTER XX.

FOURTEENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—1844-46.

The Fourteenth General Assembly convened December 2, 1844, and adjourned March 3, 1845.

Lieut.-Gov. Moore presided over the Senate, and Merritt L. Covell was elected Secretary. William A. Richardson was elected Speaker of the House, and Newton Cloud Clerk.

James A. McDougall, of Morgan county, became Attorney-General, January 12, 1843; Thompson Campbell, Secretary of State, March 4, 1843; William L. D. Ewing, Auditor of Public Accounts, March 26, 1843.

Mr. McDougall was born in New York; he removed to Pike county, Illinois, in 1837; in 1849, he originated and accompanied an exploring expedition to Rio del Norte, the Gila and Colorado; he afterward emigrated to California, and followed his profession at San Francisco; in 1850, he was elected Attorney-General of California; was a Representative in Congress from that State from 1853 to 1855, and in 1861 he was elected United States Senator; he was a delegate to the Chicago Convention in 1864. He died at Albany, New York, September 8, 1867.

The administration of Gov. Ford was a very arduous and embarrassing one. Besides the financial embarrassments of the State, he had the Mormon war upon his hands; but he successfully subdued the Mormons, and by his wise counsel greatly assisted the General Assembly in passing laws which gave the State and the people partial relief from their indebtedness.

Gov. Ford was born in Pennsylvania. In 1804, while a child, his parents emigrated to Illinois. When he attained manhood's estate, and prior to his election as Governor, he was a Justice of the Supreme bench, which position he resigned to become Governor. He wrote a history of Illinois from 1818 to 1847, which was printed by his friend, Gen. James Shields, after Gov. Ford's death, which occurred at Peoria, November 2, 1850.

MEXICAN WAR.

In the war between the United States and Mexico, which Congress declared on the 11th of May, 1846, and which prevailed two years, Illinois bore an honorable and conspicuous part. Six regiments of volunteer soldiers was her contribution in that sanguinary struggle. In a volume recently prepared by Adj.-Gen. Isaac H. Elliott, by authority of the General Assembly, we find the familiar names of Colonel John J. Hardin, who fell while gallantly leading the first regiment in a charge at the battle of Buena Vista, February 23, 1847; Major William A. Richardson, Lieutenant-Colonel B. M. Prentiss, First Lieutenant Isham N. Haynie, Second Lieutenant John A. Logan, Lieutenant-Colonel James L. D. Morrison, Colonel Stephen G. Hicks, Major S. D. Marshall, Captain M. K. Lawler, Second Lieutenant Green B. Field, Colonel Edward D. Baker, Second Lieutenant William B. Fonsey, Sergeant Dudley Wickersham, First Lieutenant Richard J. Oglesby, Captain L. W. Ross, Sergeant Robert M. Peoples, Second Lieutenant John G. Ridgway, Colonel Wm. H. Bissell, and Lieutenant-Colonel Wm. B. Warren. The reports of that campaign, printed in the volume referred to, show that, in their official reports, Generals Taylor, Wool, Scott, Twiggs and Patterson each warmly commended the gallantry of Illinois soldiers; and Gen. Taylor complimented personally the services of Colonel Bissell, Lieutenant-Colonel

Morrison, Lieutenant-Colonel William B. Warren, Colonel William Weatherford, Major X. F. Frail, Adjutant A. G. Whiteside, and Major Noah Fry, for gallant conduct at the battle of Buena Vista.

Most, if not all, of these men subsequently became distinguished in civil or military life, but death has claimed all of them except Prentiss, Logan, Morrison, Wickersham, Oglesby and Ross.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1846-49.

The eighth State Government was inaugurated December 9, 1846, with Augustus C. French, of Crawford, as Governor; Joseph B. Wells, of Rock Island, Lieutenant Governor; Horace S. Cooley, of Adams, Secretary of State; Thomas H. Campbell, of Randolph, Auditor of Public Accounts; Milton Carpenter, of Hamilton, Treasurer; David B. Campbell, of Sangamon, Attorney-General.

The Fifteenth General Assembly convened December 7, 1846, and adjourned March 1, 1847.

Lieutenant-Governor Wells presided over the Senate, and Henry W. Moore was elected Secretary. Newton Cloud was elected Speaker of the House, and John McDonald Clerk.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1847.

The Convention which framed the Constitution of 1848 convened at Springfield, June 7, 1847. Zadok Casey was elected President *pro tempore*; Newton Cloud President, and Henry W. Moore Secretary. There were one hundred and sixty-two delegates, whose names are given below:

William Laughlin, Wm. B. Powers, Jacob M. Nichols, Archibald Williams, Martin Atherton, Michael G. Dale, Daniel H. Whitney, James W. Singleton, James Brockman, Alexander McHatton, Simon Kinney, Wm. Bosbyshe, Garner Moffett, Henry E. Dummer, Thompson R. Webber, D. D. Shumway, Wm. Tutt, Justin Harlan, Uri Manly, Peter Green, Benjamin Bond, Thomas A. Marshall,

Thomas B. Trower, Patrick Ballingall, Francis C. Sherman, Reuben B. Heacock, E. F. Colby, David L. Gregg, Nelson Hawley, Wm. H. Blakely, George H. Hill, George B. Lemen, Jeduthun Hatch, Samuel Anderson, Wm. Shields, George W. Rives, Alvin R. Kenner, John W. F. Edmonson, Joseph T. Eccles, George W. Akin, David Markley, Hezekiah M. Wead, Isaac Linley, George Kreider, Albert G. Caldwell, Jacob Smith, Franklin Witt, L. E. Worcester, D. M. Woodson, George W. Armstrong, James M. Lasater, Thomas C. Sharpe, William S. Moore, Charles Choate, Robert Miller, Thomas Geddes, Andrew McCallen, Gilbert Turnbull, Joshua Harper, Lewis J. Simpson, Jesse O. Norton, Alexander M. Jenkins, Richard G. Morris, Franklin S. Casey, Zadok Casey, Walter B. Scates, A. R. Knapp, Thompson Campbell, W. B. Green, O. C. Pratt, John Oliver, Alfred Churchill, Augustus Adams, Thomas Judd, John West Mason, Curtis K. Harvey, James Knox, Horace Butler, Hurlbut Swan, Wm. Stadden, Abraham Hoes, John Mieure, John Dement, Samuel Lander, James Tuttle, David Davis, F. S. D. Marshall, James Graham, John M. Palmer, James M. Campbell, John Huston, John Sibley, Peter W. Deitz, Stephen A. Hurlbut, Cyrus Edwards, E. M. West, Benaiah Robinson, George T. Brown, Henry D. Palmer, George W. Pace, Edward O. Smith, Thomas G. C. Davis, Benjamin F. Northcott, Frederick Frick, Hiram Roundtree, James M. Davis, Anthony Thornton, Newton Cloud, James Dunlap, Samuel D. Lockwood, William Thomas, James A. James, John D. Whiteside, Daniel J. Pinckney, H. B. Jones, John Crain, Wm. W. Thompson, Lincoln B. Knowlton, Onslow Peters, Wm. R. Archer, Harvey Dunn, William A. Grimshaw, Montgomery Blair, William Sim, Oaks Turner, Ezekiel W. Robbins, Richard B. Servant, Alfred Kitchell, John W. Spencer, John Dawson, James H. Matheny, Ninian W. Edwards, Stephen T. Logan, N. M. Knapp, Daniel Dunsmore, William A. Minshall, Edward Evey, Wm. W. Roman, Wm. C. Kinney, John McCulley, George Bunsen, Seth B. Farwell, Thomas B. Carter, William H. Holmes, Henry R. Green, Samuel Hunsaker, John Canady, John W. Vance, Charles H. Constable, Abner C. Harding, Zenos H. Vernor, James M. Hogue, Aaron C. Jackson, S. Snowden Hayes, Daniel Hay, Samuel J. Cross, Selden M. Church, Robert J. Cross, John T. Loudon, Willis Allen, Hugh Henderson, William McClure.

Politically, this convention was rather evenly balanced. On the Democratic side there were such representatives as Zadok Casey, John Dement, John M. Palmer, Anthony Thornton, Walter B. Seates, Willis Allen, L. B. Knowlton, Thompson Campbell; and among the Whigs, Archibald Williams, James W. Singleton, Henry E. Dummer, Jesse O. Norton, Stephen A. Hurlbut, David Davis, Cyrus Edwards, Samuel D. Lockwood, Stephen T. Logan and Abner C. Harding.

The convention was in session eighty-four days. The constitution was voted upon and adopted by the people, March 6, and went into effect April 1, 1848. We note some of its peculiar features: It provided that the salary of the Governor should be \$1,500; Secretary of State, \$800 and fees; Auditor of Public Accounts, \$800 and "no more;" State Treasurer, \$800 and "no more;" Judges of Supreme Court, \$1,200 and "no more;" Circuit Judges, \$1,000 and "no more;" military duty was confined to "all free male able-bodied persons, between the ages of 18 and 45, negroes, mulattoes and Indians excepted;" a capitation tax was to be collected from "all able-bodied free white male inhabitants;" the pay of members of the General Assembly was fixed at \$2.00 per day for forty-two days, and \$1.00 per day for each day thereafter, and 10 cents mileage each way. Article fourteen provided that "the General Assembly, at its first session under the amended constitution, should pass such laws as would effectually prohibit free persons of color from immigrating to and settling in this State; and to effectually prevent the owners of slaves from bringing them into this State for the purpose of setting them free." Article fifteen provided that there should be annually assessed and collected a tax of two mills upon each dollar's worth of taxable property, in addition to all other taxes, to be kept separate and to be apportioned to the payment of the State indebtedness other than the canal

and school indebtedness. This article was also submitted to a separate vote of the people; the vote for it was 41,-449; against, 31,869; majority for, 9,580. This article laid the foundation for the extinguishment of the State debt, incurred by the internal improvement system of 1837, and it is of itself enough to immortalize the framers of that constitution, because it gave hope and courage to the people who wanted to pay the obligations of the State dollar for dollar, and it enabled them to do it.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1849-53.

Under the constitution of 1848, a new election for State officers had occurred in that year, and Gov. French was re-elected; William McMurtry, of Knox, was elected Lieut.-Governor; Horace S. Cooley, of Adams, Secretary of State; Thomas H. Campbell, of Randolph, Auditor of Public Accounts; John Moore, of McLean, Treasurer. No provision having been made in the constitution for an Attorney-General, that office became extinct.

The first session of the Sixteenth General Assembly convened January 1, 1849, the new constitution having changed the time of the meeting of the General Assembly from December to January. A second session convened October 22, and adjourned November 7, 1849.

Lieut.-Gov. McMurtry presided over the Senate, and William Smith was elected Secretary. Zadok Casey was elected Speaker of the House, and Nathaniel Niles Clerk.

The duties of this General Assembly were more than routine legislation. A new era marked the progress of the State. The framers of the new constitution had adopted a feasible plan for providing means for relieving the State of its financial embarrassment, and wise legislation was necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the constitution, and the people happily selected many able representatives, among whom may be mentioned, of the

Senate, John T. Stuart of Sangamon, Joseph Gillespie of Madison, J. L. D. Morrison of St. Clair, William Reddick of LaSalle, Joel A. Matteson of Will, and Norman B. Judd of Cook. Of the House, were Wesley Sloan of Pope, Zadok Casey of Jefferson, U. F. Linder of Clark, Thomas Carlin of Greene, Richard Yates of Morgan, Ninian W. Edwards of Sangamon, Onias C. Skinner of Adams, and William Kellogg of Fulton.

CHAPTER XXI. IMPROVEMENT SYSTEM.

Internal Improvement System of 1837—Appointment of Fund Commissioners—Illinois and Michigan Canal—Board of Public Works—System of Railroads—Mail Routes—Improvement of the Rivers—\$10,507,000 Appropriated by the General Assembly for Public Improvements—Who Voted for the Bill—Bankruptcy.

The internal improvement system of 1837, which bankrupted the State and wrecked many private fortunes, was a gigantic enterprise, and while it was a signal failure, yet it taught the people a valuable lesson. In this system was included, incidentally, the project of constructing the Illinois and Michigan Canal, which had been mooted in the message of Gov. Bond as early as 1818, and it continued to be the subject of discussion and legislation by every Governor and General Assembly, until the collapse of the whole system. The canal was regarded as *the* means above all others for the development of the State. The General Assembly of 1826, in a memorial addressed to Congress, asking for a donation of lands in aid of the construction of the canal, gave vent to their views

upon the importance of the work in these words: "The construction of a canal connecting the waters of Lake Michigan with the Illinois river, will form an important addition to the great connecting links in the chain of internal navigation, which will effectually secure the indissoluble union of the confederate members of this great and powerful Republic. By the completion of this great and valuable work, the connection between the North and the South, the East and the West, would be strengthened by the ties of commercial intercourse and social brotherhood, and the Union of States might bid defiance to internal commotion and sectional jealousy, and foreign invasion." Acting on this memorial, Congress passed an act March 2, 1827, granting some 300,000 acres of land to the State, in aid of the canal. Stimulated by what Congress had done, the Legislature passed an act, January 22, 1829, authorizing the construction of the canal, but the termini was not fixed until March 1, 1833. The total expenditures for the construction of the canal, under the direction of the Canal Commissioners and Trustees, up to 1848, when it was opened for business, was \$6,557,681.50. (See Report of Auditor of Public Accounts to the Constitutional Convention of 1870.) The Records of the Auditor of Public Accounts further show that the total expenditures on this 92 miles of waterway was over \$10,000,000. This enormous expenditure would have built, on the prairies of Illinois, 666 miles of railway.

The law which authorized the internal improvement system was passed by the General Assembly in February, 1837. It provided for the appointment of Fund Commissioners, whose duties were to negotiate loans of money, on the credit of the State, and to promote and maintain a general system of internal improvements. The same act provided for the biennial election, by the Legislature, of a Board of Public Works, whose duty it was to take

charge of and prosecute the public improvements; and it provided for the improvement of the navigation of the Wabash, Illinois, Rock, Kaskaskia and Little Wabash rivers; the construction of a mail route from Vincennes to East St. Louis, and the following railroads: Cairo to Galena, Alton to Mt. Carmel, Alton to Shawneetown, Quincy to Danville and the State line, a branch from the Cairo and Galena *via* Hillsboro and Shelbyville east to Terre Haute; Peoria to Warsaw, Lower Alton *via* Hillsboro, to intersect the Cairo and Galena, Belleville to intersect the Alton and Mt. Carmel, Bloomington to Pekin and Peoria. There was appropriated by this act \$400,000 for the improvement of the rivers, \$250,000 for the mail routes, \$9,460,000 for railroads, and \$200,000 to counties in which no railroads were to be built. Provision was made for creating an internal improvement fund, and certificates of stock were to be issued on the faith of the State. The journal of the House of that session shows that John Crain, John Dougherty, John Dawson, John Dement, Stephen A. Douglas, Jesse K. Dubois, Ninian W. Edwards, William F. Elkin, Augustus C. French, William W. Happy, John J. Hardin, John Hogan, Abraham Lincoln, U. F. Linder, John A. McClernand, John Moore, Joseph Naper, James Shields, Robert Smith, Dan Stone and James Semple voted for the bill, and that Milton Carpenter, John Harris, William McMurtry, William A. Minshall and William A. Richardson voted against it. It will thus be seen that the internal improvement system was not the work of bad men, nor was it the creature of a combination for speculative purposes, for it was championed by some of the purest and ablest men of the State.

In March, 1839, an act was passed by the Legislature providing for the construction of a railroad from Upper Alton *via* Hillsboro to Carlinville, and one from Rushville

to Era. At the same session \$150,000 was appropriated to the improvement of the Little Wabash; \$20,000 to improve the Big Muddy; \$7,000 to improve the Embarrass, and \$20,000 for mail routes.

In 1840, the Legislature passed an act prohibiting the Board of Public Works from letting any more contracts, and providing for the settlement of the debts incurred by the system, and the offices of the Board of Public Works and the Board of Fund Commissioners were abolished.

In 1841, the Legislature passed an act authorizing the Auditor and Treasurer of State to audit and settle the claims of contractors on public works. At the same session \$100,000 was appropriated for the completion of the Northern Cross Railroad. Here we have the beginning and ending of the legislation relating to the internal improvement system, in which was included the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

To illustrate the utter blindness of the system, we note the fact that Ford says, there were no previous surveys of the proposed roads, nor estimates of their cost of construction, and that the work was commenced on all of them at the same time, and at each end. Large brick depots were built at different points regardless as to whether the roads were built or not. One of these was burned at Equality some years ago, and another is still standing on the bank of the Ohio river at Shawneetown, as a monument to the folly of that age.

When the affairs of the internal improvement system were settled, it was shown that the State was involved in a debt of \$12,000,000, with nothing to show for it. Here, indeed, was a crisis in the affairs of the young State. The population was less than half a million. There was neither business nor commerce; and a loud cry went forth in favor of repudiation, but this was soon checked,

and by judicious legislation the people obtained temporary relief as to their personal financial burdens, and measures were devised for paying the public debt. It required years of toil and hardship, but the debt was finally paid in full, principal and interest, and the honor and credit of the State maintained.

It is a remarkable fact that while all the roads projected in 1837 failed of construction, private companies have since built them, in whole or in part.

SEVENTEENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—1850-52.

The first session of the Seventeenth General Assembly convened January 6, 1851, and adjourned February 17. A second session convened June 7, 1852, and adjourned June 23.

Lieut.-Gov. McMurtry presided over the Senate, and William Smith served as Secretary. Sidney Breese was elected Speaker of the House, and Isaac R. Diller Clerk.

The work of enacting laws to conform to the new constitution, was one of the grave duties of this Assembly. Of the new members there were such names as John M. Palmer, of Macoupin; Wm. B. Plato, of Kane, in the Senate; and in the House, Isham N. Haynie, of Marion; James C. Allen, of Crawford; Sidney Breese, of Clinton; William H. Snyder, of St. Clair; S. A. Buckmaster, of Madison; Wm. Thomas, of Morgan; Anthony Thornton, of Shelby; James W. Singleton, of Brown; Jesse O. Norton, of Will, and O. M. Hatch, of Pike.

Gov. French retired from office in January, 1853, leaving behind him an honorable record. He had been the Executive when the darkest clouds of the financial storm hovered over the State, but had ever counseled an honest payment of the State's obligations, and he lived to see the debt almost wholly canceled.

Gov. French was born in New Hampshire, in August, 1808; he attended Harvard University; removed to Illinois

in his youth, and as early as 1835 became closely identified with the politics of the State. He was a lawyer by profession, and was for several years President of the Board of Trustees of McKendree College, and Professor of Law in that institution. His last appearance in public life was as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1862. He died at Lebanon, September 4, 1864.

CHAPTER XXII.

OUR FIRST RAILROADS.

Gov. Duncan's Opposition to Railroads—Senator Gatewood's Opposition—Report of Committee Favoring Canals in Preference to Railroads—Number of Miles of Railway—Number of Miles of Canal—Amount of Taxes Paid by Illinois Central Railway—Amount Paid by Other Railways in 1833—Gov. Duncan's Problem Solved.

It will be difficult for the reader to realize, amidst the many grand railways which cross and re-cross the broad domain of Illinois, that there should have ever been anybody to oppose their construction, or doubt their success, but a study of the early legislation of the State shows that there was serious opposition, even among the brightest minds of the State. Gov. Duncan, in his message to the General Assembly, in 1834, gave utterance to the thought that it was yet to be determined whether railroads would be more benefit to the State than the Illinois and Michigan canal. Said he:

"No one who has visited the different canals and railroads in the United States, and compared the country through which they pass with the fertile lands which lie between the Lakes and the Mississippi, to say nothing of the unbounded country that is washed by the twenty-five thousand miles of river and lake navigation, which this canal will unite by the shortest and most certain route that can possibly be made, can doubt that it will yield a larger

profit upon its cost, in a very few years, than any other work of the kind that has ever been, or can be, constructed in this country.

"In commencing this great work it should be borne in mind that its utility and success, as well as its expense, will greatly depend upon the kind of improvement that the Legislature shall adopt, and upon the plan of its construction. Of the different plans proposed, I find that the Board of Canal Commissioners and my worthy predecessors, have recommended a railroad, in which I regret that I am compelled to differ with them in opinion.

"In my judgment, experience has shown canals to be much more useful, and generally cheaper of construction, than railroads. When well made they require less expensive repairs, and are continually improving, and will last forever, while railroads are kept in repair at a very heavy expense, and will last but about fifteen years. In the present case especially, a canal should be preferred, because it connects, by a short and direct route, two great navigable waters, that wash the shores of most of the States and Territories of the United States and British Provinces of North America, and thus opening a commerce between the remotest parts of the continent. By using the lake as a feeder to this canal, a large body of water will be turned into the Illinois river, which will improve its navigation, and by increasing the current, will, probably, render its shores more healthy.

"An additional argument in favor of a canal, which should justly have great weight with you, is to be found in the fact, that it puts it in the power of every farmer to carry his own produce to market, which renders him independent of that monopoly which must always control the transportation on railroads. There appears to be but little force, in the present case, in the argument commonly used in favor of railroads—that transportation upon them is uninterrupted in winter—as this canal will be open several weeks longer in the fall and spring than either the lake or river, consequently no inconvenience can result from its closing, especially as at that season the roads will be sufficiently good to accommodate all the traveling which will be required." (See House Journal of 1835.)

Acting on the views of Gov. Duncan, a committee was appointed by the Senate to determine which system of internal commerce should be adopted. The committee

gave the subject a wide consideration, and in the course of an elaborate report, expressed the deliberate opinion that canals were preferable to railroads, in these terms:

"From all the lights of which the committee have been able to avail themselves, it would seem that the public judgment, in this State and elsewhere, has settled down in favor of canals in preference to railroads, wherever the country is peculiarly suited to their construction; and there can be no doubt that nature has declared that this is the character of the region of country lying between the navigable waters of the Illinois and Lake Michigan. That railroads are better adapted to the speedy transportation of passengers than canals, seems to be admitted; and whenever that is the main object intended to be effected by their construction, they are, doubtless, entitled to a preference over canals. But such can not be the case in reference to this work.

"If we glance at the institutions and improvements of civilized man, in every portion of the world, we are struck with the fact that, in those countries, and among those people, where the means of promoting the happiness of the social state are most profoundly understood, there canals abound; and there the Government has been most anxious to increase the facilities for internal commerce and inter-communication between different parts of the same country. But we are not left to that brilliant example alone to cheer us to the undertaking—our neighbors, Ohio and Indiana, have profited by the wisdom and experience of other enlightened States, and their citizens are now enjoying an unparalleled prosperity, as the fruit of their sagacity and enterprise. Shall not Illinois do likewise? . . . The probable cost of the canal, to be supplied with water, will be \$2,956,260.56."

It will be observed, from these figures, that the committee went into details in calculating the cost of the construction of the canal, as fractions of dollars form a part of the estimated cost. (See Senate Journal of 1835.) At that session William J. Gatewood, a State Senator from Gallatin county, and a man of eminent ability, was one of many who earnestly opposed legislation in favor of railroads, but, nevertheless, the agitation of the question continued, and in 1839, the completion of the first

railroad in the State, known as the Northern Cross Railroad, was celebrated, and George Gregory, now of Springfield, run its first locomotive. The road extended from Jacksonville to Meredosia, a distance of twenty-four miles; it was built by the State, and laid with flat iron. In 1841, it was extended from Jacksonville to Springfield, and in 1845, from Jacksonville to Naples. The State operated the road until 1847, when the Legislature passed an act, February 16, authorizing the sale of the road between the Illinois river and Springfield, fifty-two miles in length, at public vendue. One of the peculiar features of this law was, that it provided for a forty years' lien upon the road, in order to secure the amount for which it might be sold. The sale took place soon after the approval of the act, and Nicholas H. Ridgely, of Springfield, became the purchaser, paying \$21,100 in State indebtedness. Mr. Ridgely afterward sold Thomas Mather, of Springfield, and James Dunlap, of Jacksonville, each an interest.

They changed its name to the Sangamon and Morgan Railroad. During the time the State had operated it but two engines had been obtained, and when the new owners took possession they found them so worn as to be unfit for use, and for nine months they were compelled to run their trains with mules. The trains consisted of two cars drawn by two mules. There were two trains daily, one of which left Springfield in the morning for Naples, and the other, Naples for Springfield. Reddick M. Ridgely was one of the conductors.

About the close of the year 1847, the company received three new engines, when the services of the mules were dispensed with. The Legislature passed an act extending the charter of the road to the Indiana line, and in 1857, Mr. Mather visited New York and negotiated a sale of the road to Robert Schuyler, who was then deemed the great railroad manager of the country, for \$100,000;

Mather and Ridgely continued stock-holders, and were elected local directors. In the same year Mr. Schuyler became the purchaser of the thirty-three miles of railroad between Meredosia and Camp Point, which had been built through the influence of Gen. James W. Singleton; it was known as the Quincy and Toledo Railroad. In 1859, the name was changed to the Great Western Railway, and the work of extending it eastward was begun in earnest. In 1865, it was consolidated with the Toledo and Wabash Railway; January 6, 1877, the Wabash Railway Company was organized, and acquired the property of the Toledo, Wabash and Western Railway at foreclosure sale, in February, 1877, and in 1879, the name was changed to the Wabash, St. Louis and Pacific Railway.

Now, that insignificant twenty-four miles of flat railroad is a part of what is known as the "Gould system," which has business connections from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, and is esteemed one of the greatest railway combinations in the world. The company owns in fee simple, or operates by lease, 1,598 miles of railway in Illinois alone, and altogether 3,482 miles.

In 1847, the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad, which was chartered January 16, 1836, was put under construction, and the close of 1848 found only ten miles completed. The capital stock of the company was then fixed at \$100,000, with power to increase it to \$1,000,000. So timid were the projectors of the road that they put a clause in the charter which authorized them to build a turnpike in case they failed with the railroad. It was in these words:

"That if at any time after the passage of this act it shall be deemed advisable by the directors of the said corporation to make and establish a good, permanent turnpike road upon any portion of the route of the railroad by this act authorized to be constructed, then the said directors are hereby authorized and empowered to construct a turnpike on any portion of the said route."

Passing over the subsequent struggles of the road, we will say that from this modest beginning has grown the great Chicago and Northwestern Railway, with its 8,584 miles of unsurpassed track, traversing the Western States and Territories, and reaching far in the direction of the Pacific coast.

The ninety-nine miles of railroad, connecting Quincy with Galesburg, which was built under a charter granted by the Legislature in 1849, by Nehemiah Bushnell, was bought by the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, under a sale of foreclosure by the bondholders, and it now forms an important link in the great system of roads operated by that rich and progressive company. The total number of miles of main line and branches owned and operated by this company in Illinois is 853. The total number of miles in and out of the State is 1,674.

February 10, 1851, the Illinois Central Railroad, which had been projected during the internal improvement system of 1837, was chartered, and Congress gave the company every alternate section of land along its line in aid of its construction, in consideration of which the State was to receive seven per cent. of the gross earnings. The line of road was from Cairo to Dunleith, now East Dubuque, with a branch to Chicago, embracing 700 miles—the whole of which was completed September 27, 1856.

The completion of this great line of railroad at once opened up a market for the products of the State, and brought the lands in active demand, and emigration poured in as never before.

The United States census of 1850 had given the State a population of but 651,470, while that of 1860 swelled it to 1,711,955.

Thus it will be seen that under the influence of this one railroad the State had gained in less than ten years

1,060,485 inhabitants, as against 651,470 in the thirty-two years previous. No grant of land to a railroad company was ever more judiciously made. It enriched alike the railroad company and the State. The road is one of the very best in the entire country, and is managed with consummate skill. The company now owns, in and out of the State, of main lines and branches, 1,927 miles, which includes a continuous line from Chicago to New Orleans.

From March 24, 1855, to October 31, 1883, this company had paid into the State treasury, of the seven per cent. gross earnings, \$9,476,578.99.

Since the completion of the first 24 miles of railway in 1839, there has been built, of main lines and branches, in Illinois, 8,766 miles; and the annual report of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1883, shows that there were fifty-six railroad companies within the State, of which we speak in detail in another chapter.

As to the canal, it has cost the State over \$10,000,000, and notwithstanding that enormous expenditure, it is still unfinished, being only 92 miles in length, and has long since ceased to be a source of revenue to the State. The money involved in this enterprise would have built on the prairies of Illinois 666 miles of railway.

The problem suggested by Gov. Duncan has been fully solved. As shown by the report of the Auditor of Public Accounts for 1882, the aggregate tax paid to the State, counties, cities and towns for that year, by the railroads, other than that paid by the Illinois Central, was \$1,835,118.

STATE GOVERNMENT—1853-57.

The tenth State Government was inaugurated with Joel A. Matteson, of Will, as Governor; Gustavus Kerner, of St. Clair, Lieutenant-Governor; David L. Gregg, of Cook,

Secretary of State; Thomas H. Campbell, of Randolph, Auditor of Public Accounts; John Moore, of McLean, Treasurer.

The first session of the Eighteenth General Assembly convened January 3, 1853, and adjourned February 14. A second session convened February 9, 1854, and adjourned March 4.

Lieut.-Gov. Koerner presided over the Senate, and R. E. Goodell was elected Secretary. John Reynolds was elected Speaker of the House, and John Calhoun Clerk.

This Legislature became famous for passing the black laws, of which an extended mention has been made in a preceding chapter. The bill passed the House February 5, 1853, by a vote of 45 yeas to 23 nays; seven members were absent, or refrained from voting. The Senate passed the bill February 11, as it came from the House, by a vote of 18 yeas to 9 nays; three Senators were absent or refrained from voting. On February 12, the bill received the approval of Gov. Matteson.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PRINTING.

First Newspapers in Illinois—First Books Printed—Printing Presses Then and Now—First Daily Papers—Chicago Papers—Papers at the Capital—Weekly Journals—Interior Dailies—Eminent Journalists.

When Illinois was organized as a Territory of the United States, the arts of printing and journalism were in their infancy, not only in this, but in all countries. Research shows that Matthew Duncan was the pioneer journalist of Illinois, establishing the *Herald*, at Kaskaskia, in 1814. Prior to the establishment of the *Herald* legal notices were published, by act of December, 1813, in the Louisiana Territory (Missouri).

The *Herald* was a three-column folio until 1816, when it was enlarged to a four-column folio. In 1817, Daniel P. Cook and Robert Blackwell bought it. Subsequently, its name was changed to *Intelligencer*, and in 1820 it was moved to Vandalia. The second paper in the State was the *Emigrant*, established as an anti-slavery paper, at Shawneetown, in 1818, by Henry Eddy and S. H. Kimball. The third paper, the *Spectator*, was established as an anti-slavery paper, at Edwardsville, in 1819, by Hooper Warren. In 1835, the number of weekly newspapers had multiplied to eighteen. The first daily paper in the State—*Daily Express*—was established at Chicago, in 1839, and the second—*Democrat*—in the same city, in 1840. John Wentworth was the editor of the latter.

The first book or pamphlet, of which we have any knowledge, printed in Illinois, was by Matthew Duncan, at Kaskaskia; it bears date December 24, 1814. It contained an act establishing a Supreme Court, the letter of Judges Jesse B. Thomas and William Sprigg to the Legislature, challenging the legality of the act; the answer of the Legislature to the Judges, the address of Gov. Edwards to the Legislature, and the memorial of the Legislature to Congress, numbering, in all, 46 pages. In printing this book, there were but three fonts of type used—burgeois, small-pica and English. In an address delivered by William L. Gross before the Illinois State Bar Association, at Springfield, January 6, 1881, we find that Matthew Duncan also published the first volume of what is known as Pope's Digest, in June, 1815. These books are in the possession of Mr. Gross, and they show the art of printing in its most primitive state.

The first printing press used in Illinois was known as the Franklin Ramage, which was capable of printing but one page of a folio newspaper at a time, with a capacity of 240

impressions per hour. This required the services of one man and a boy. The next press in use was the Washington, which printed two pages at a time, with a capacity of 300 impressions per hour. Then followed the power presses. The Konig, with a capacity of 1,000 to 1,800 impressions per hour; the Applegate, 5,000 to 10,000; the Hoe cylinder, 6,000 to 8,000; Hoe lightning, 10,000 to 15,000; Hoe ten-cylinder, 25,000. Then came the presses which printed the paper complete. The Walter, with a capacity of 11,000; Bullock, 11,000 to 20,000. The Walter and Bullock presses print from a web or continuous roll of paper. The last and most successful invention in newspaper presses, however, is the perfecting press, whose capacity is 30,000 to 32,000 per hour. On this press the paper is printed from a web, on both sides, cut, pasted and folded ready for the carrier. This is equivalent to 60,000 or 64,000 impressions per hour.

The *Inter Ocean* was the first newspaper in this country to adopt the use of the perfecting press. The folder was an invention of Mr. Walter Scott, of Scotland, who was an employee of the *Inter Ocean* office for a number of years, and at that time foreman of the machinery department of that office. For a long time the question of attaching a folder to the web presses had been agitating the press-men and press-builders, but all attempts had failed until Mr. Scott perfected his experiment and attached it successfully to the several Bullock presses of the *Inter Ocean*, since which time his invention has been applied to all the web presses by whatever name manufactured, and the invention rightfully belongs to Illinois.

Journalism did not begin in Chicago until 1833, when John Calhoun established the *Chicago Democrat*, a weekly paper. In 1840, the *Chicago Democrat* was issued as a daily under the editorship of John Wentworth, and in 1858 it was consolidated with the *Tribune*.

In 1835 T. O. Davis established the *American* as a weekly, which became an evening daily April 9, 1839, with Wm. Stuart as publisher. W. W. Brackett bought the *Evening American* in October, 1842, and changed its name to the *Daily Express*. In 1844, a company of Whigs bought the *Express* office and established the *Daily Evening Journal*, with R. L. Wilson as editor, the first number of which was issued April 22, of that year. This was the beginning of the present *Chicago Evening Journal*, with whose editorial management Andrew Shuman has been connected for thirty years. He became chief assistant editor in 1856, managing editor in 1861, and editor-in-chief in 1878.

April 4, 1840, Charles N. Halcomb & Co. issued the *Weekly Tribune*, the first newspaper of that name in the United States. The first number of the *Daily Tribune* was issued July 10, 1847. Its owners were James Kelly, John E. Wheeler and J. C. K. Forrest, the two last named being the editors. August 23, 1848, John L. Scripps became editor and owner. In September, 1855, Dr. Charles H. Ray, J. C. Vaughn and J. Medill became editors, and continued as such until July 1, 1858, when the *Democratic Press* and the *Tribune* were consolidated. Dr. Ray, J. Medill, J. L. Scripps and Wm. Bross became the editors. In 1861, Mr. Scripps was appointed Postmaster of Chicago, when his editorial connection with the *Tribune* ceased. Horace White became editor of the *Tribune* January 20, 1867, and retired November 10, 1874, since which time J. Medill has been editor-in-chief. His brother, S. J. Medill, was managing editor from 1874 to the time of his death, which occurred in February, 1883.

Of the subsequent dailies in Chicago, which are now in existence, *The Times* was established in 1854, with James W. Sheahan editor, until 1861, when he was succeeded by W. F. Storey; the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* was established

in 1855; *Demokrat*, in 1870. John Y. Scammon established the *Inter Ocean*, in 1872, on the ruins of the *Chicago Republican*. In the latter part of that year the *Inter Ocean* was purchased by a stock company, and shortly after, William Penn Nixon became business manager, and subsequently secured a controlling interest, and the paper is now conducted under his direction. In 1870, the *Neue Freie Presse* was established; in 1875, the *News*; in 1876, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and in 1881, the *Herald*.

From first to last there have been printed many newspapers at the Capital, of which there are but seven in existence. *The Illinois State Journal* was established in 1831, under the name of *Sangamo Journal*; the first number of the *Daily Journal* was issued in 1848. *The State Register* was established at Vandalia in 1836, but was removed to Springfield when the capital was removed; the first number of the *Daily Register* was issued in 1848. *The Illinois Freie Presse* was established in 1872; the *Sangamo Monitor*, in 1873; the *Daily Monitor*, in 1877; the *Staats Wochentblatt*, in 1878; the *Evening Post*, in 1880, and the *Saturday Mirror*, in 1883.

Among the older weekly papers published in the interior portions of the State, we find the following: *Journal*, Jacksonville, established 1831; *Gazette*, Galena, 1834; *Herald*, Quincy, 1835; *Telegraph*, Alton, 1836; *Tazewell County Republican*, Pekin, 1836; *Home Journal*, Lacon, 1837; *Whig*, Quincy, 1837; *Advocate*, Belleville, 1839; *Register*, Mt. Carmel, 1839; *Register*, Rockford, 1840; *Signal*, Joliet, 1842; *Republican*, Ottawa, 1844; *Lake County Patriot*, Waukegan, 1845; *Beacon*, Aurora, 1846; *Pantagraph*, Bloomington, 1846; *Gazette*, Carrollton, 1846; *Atlas*, Monmouth, 1846.

Of the dailies in Illinois, outside of Chicago and Springfield, we find the following, as given in Rowell's *Newspaper Directory* for 1884. They are given chronologically:

Whig, Quincy, established 1848; *Gazette*, Galena, 1848; *Herald*, Quincy, 1849; *Argus*, Rock Island, 1851; *Transcript*, Peoria, 1855; *Pantagraph*, Bloomington, 1857; *Demokrat*, Peoria, 1860; *Union*, Rock Island, 1861; *Telegraph*, Alton, 1861; *National Democrat*, Peoria, 1865; *Journal*, Jacksonville, 1866; *Bulletin*, Cairo, 1868; *Leader*, Bloomington, 1869; *Evening Review*, Peoria, 1869; *Republican Register*, Galesburg, 1870; *News*, Aurora, 1872; *Republican*, Decatur, 1872; *Journal*, Maitoon, 1873; *Register*, Rockford, 1873; *Zeitung und Stern*, Belleville, 1874; *Republican and Sun*, Joliet, 1874; *Germania*, Quincy, 1874; *Democrat*, Alton, 1874; *News*, Danville, 1876; *News*, Elgin, 1876; *Illinois Courier*, Jacksonville, 1876; *Evening Post*, Aurora, 1877; *Republican*, Braidwood, 1877; *Bulletin*, Freeport, 1877; *News*, Joliet, 1877; *Times*, Ottawa, 1877; *Journal*, Peoria, 1877; *News*, Quincy, 1877; *Argus*, Cairo, 1878; *Commercial*, Danville, 1878; *Review*, Decatur, 1878; *Frank*, Elgin, 1878; *Journal*, Lincoln, 1878; *Dispatch*, Moline, 1878; *Journal*, Freeport, 1879; *Sonne*, Peoria, 1879; *Gazette*, Rockford, 1879; *Morning Herald*, Decatur, 1880; *Journal*, Ottawa, 1880; *Bulletin*, Bloomington, 1881; *Advocate*, Elgin, 1881; *Times*, Pekin, 1881; *Free Press*, Streator, 1881; *Monitor*, Streator, 1882; *Gazette*, Sterling, 1882; *Express*, Aurora, 1882; *Evening Eye*, Roodhouse, 1882; *News-Democrat*, Belleville, 1883; *Daily Gazette*, Champaign, 1883; *Republican*, Moline, 1883; *Evening Gazette*, Monmouth, 1883; *Times*, Lincoln, 1884; *Daily Sentinel*, Centralia, 1884.

Rowell's Directory for 1884, places the total number of papers, weeklies and dailies, in Illinois, at 1,009.

We have spoken of the wonderful improvements made in printing presses, and now a word is due journalism generally, and we hazard nothing in saying that the weekly papers in Illinois are not surpassed by those of any State in the Union, as regards their moral tone, independence of character, neatness in make-up, local

interest or editorial ability, while the daily press stands unrivaled.

The Illinois Press Association, which was organized in 1866, has done much toward elevating the character and advancing the interests of the profession.

With the journalism of Illinois there have been connected many eminent men, who have taken a prominent part in shaping the politics or destiny of the State, and we call to mind a few who have been a power in its councils: Henry Eddy, Shawneetown, who was the editor of the *Illinois Emigrant*, and wielded a vigorous pen in 1823, in opposition to the attempt to make Illinois a slave State; Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, Alton; John Wentworth, C. L. Wilson, Jas. W. Sheahan, T. Lyle Dickey, C. H. Ray, Joseph Medill, A. C. Hessing, Andrew Shuman, Horace White, John L. Scripps, W. F. Storey, Wm. Bross, Herman Raster, Herman Lieb, Samuel J. Medill, W. K. Sullivan, Chicago; Austin Brooks, Quincy; John W. Merritt, Salem; E. R. Roe, Bloomington; George Scroggs, Champaign; C. H. Lanphier, who commenced his apprenticeship in the *State Register*, and afterwards became sole proprietor; D. L. Phillips, John M. Palmer, John A. McClernand, who established, edited and published the first Democratic newspaper in Southern Illinois; George Walker, Simeon Francis, who established the *Sangamo Journal*, Springfield; Enoch Emery, Peoria; W. W. Sellers, Pekin. We might swell this list indefinitely, but this will suffice to show that the men who have guided the press of the State have not lacked in ability or force of character.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NINETEENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY—1854-56.

The Nineteenth General Assembly convened January 1, 1855, and adjourned February 15.

Lieut.-Gov. Kœrner presided over the Senate, and Geo. T. Brown was elected Secretary. Thomas J. Turner was elected Speaker of the House, and Edwin T. Bridges Clerk.

Among the familiar names in this Legislature were these: In the Senate, Norman B. Judd, Burton C. Cook, John M. Palmer, Silas L. Bryan and Joseph Gillespie; and in the House, Wm. J. Allen, S. W. Moulton, Stephen T. Logan, Chauncey L. Higbee and Owen Lovejoy.

One of the important duties devolving upon this Legislature was the election of a United States Senator, to succeed Senator Shields, and the two houses met in joint session February 8, and balloted for Senator. James Shields was the Democratic candidate, and Abraham Lincoln the Whig. On the first ballot Shields received 41 votes; Lincoln, 45; scattering, 13. On the second, Shields received 41; Lincoln, 43; scattering, 15. On the third, Shields received 41; Lincoln, 41; scattering, 16. On the fourth, Shields received 41; Lincoln, 38; scattering, 19. On the fifth, Shields received 42; Lincoln, 34; scattering, 23. On the sixth, Shields received 41; Lincoln, 36; scattering, 21. On the seventh Shields' name was withdrawn, and that of Joel A. Matteson substituted, who on this ballot received 44; Lincoln, 38; scattering, 16. On the eighth, Matteson received 46; Lincoln, 27; scattering, 25. On the ninth, Matteson received 47; and Lincoln's name having been withdrawn, Trumbull received 35; scattering, 16. On the tenth, Trumbull received 51; Matteson, 47;

scattering, 1. Mr. Trumbull having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared by the Speaker Senator-elect.

This was at the time of the Kansas-Nebraska excitement. John M. Palmer, Norman B. Judd and B. C. Cook were anti-Nebraska Democrats, and it was expected that they would vote for Mr. Lincoln, which, with the vote of Henry S. Baker, an anti-Nebraska Whig, would have secured his election; but when Mr. Lincoln found, through his friend John T. Stuart, whom he had authorized to wait upon these gentlemen, that they could not vote for Mr. Lincoln, for the reason that they were instructed by their constituents to vote for an anti-Nebraska Democrat, then it was that Mr. Lincoln, standing in the lobby, reached over with his long arm, touched a member of the House and directed him to withdraw his name, which being done, Mr. Trumbull was elected on the next ballot. This was the first break in the political control of the State by the Democratic party since its organization, and the election of Lyman Trumbull as an outspoken anti-slavery man was the forerunner of the organization of the Republican party in 1856.

RAILROADS.

It seems almost incredible to say, that in 1841 there was but one Railroad in Illinois, and that it was laid with flat iron, and only twenty-four miles in length, or that for a time its cars were drawn by mules, but such is the true beginning of Railroad building in the State. The termini of this road were Jacksonville and Meredosia. From that one, the number has increased to fifty-six, whose aggregate number of miles, in main lines and branches, is 8,766. We enumerate them as they are given in the annual report of the Railroad and Warehouse Commission for 1883:

Baltimore & Ohio & Chicago, 262.60; Belt Railway, of Chicago, 23.67; Central Iowa Railway, 504; Chicago & Alton, 849.78; Chicago & Atlantic, 249.10; Chicago & Eastern Illinois, 247.50; Chicago & Grand Trunk, 330.50; Chicago & Iowa, 104; Chicago & Northwestern, 3,584.10; Chicago & Western, 1.50; Chicago & Western Indiana, 27.90; Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, 1,673.52; Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, 4,514.22; Pekin & Southwestern, 85.50; Rock Island & Pacific, 1,380.42; St. Louis & Pittsburgh, 580.50; Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis & Chicago, 342.91; Danville, Olney & Ohio River, 86.10; East St. Louis & Carondelet Railway, 11.50; East St. Louis Connecting Railway, 2.66; Fulton County Narrow Gauge Railway, 61; Grand Tower & Carbondale, 24.21; Grand Trunk Junction, 3.90; Illinois, St. Louis and Coal, 25; Illinois Central, 1,927.78; Illinois Midland Railway, 173.13; Indiana & Illinois Southern Railway, 56; Indiana, Bloomington & Western, 685.20; Indiana, Illinois & Iowa, 110; Indianapolis & St. Louis, 266.20; Jacksonville Southeastern Railway, 82.90; Kankakee & Seneca, 42.30; Lake Erie & Western Railway, 386.91; Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Railway, 1,339.54; Louisville & Nashville, 2,065.27; Louisville, Evansville & St. Louis Railway, 249.13; Louisville, New Albany & Chicago, 446; Michigan Central, 270; Moline & Southeastern, 8; New York, Chicago & St. Louis, 523; Ohio & Mississippi Railway, 616.20; Pennsylvania Co., 467.97; Peoria & Pekin Union Railway, 18; Peoria, Decatur & Evansville, 240.69; Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis, 580.50; Rock Island & Mercer Co., 26.71; Rock Island & Peoria, 91; St. Louis, Alton & Terre Haute, 137; St. Louis & Cairo, 151.60; St. Louis Coal, 92.66; St. Louis, Rock Island & Chicago, 807.67; Sycamore, Cortland & Chicago, 4.90; Terre Haute & Indianapolis, 159.13; Toledo, Cincinnati & St. Louis, 781.96; Union Stock Yards & Transit Co., 50; Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railway, 3,482.40.

Poor's Railroad Manual, for 1883, reports the whole number of miles of Railroad in the United States at 113,907. In this Manual it is shown that Illinois has more miles of railway than any other State in the Union; the number of miles given her were 8,722. New York ranks next to Illinois; she had 7,037; Iowa, 6,962; Pennsylvania, 6,792; Ohio, 6,931; Texas, 6,006; while the other States and Territories have from 211 miles to 4,646. Rhode Island has a less number of miles of railway than any State or Territory in the Union, having only 211 miles.

MANUFACTURING AND MINING.

Some idea may be obtained as to the progress made in the industries of the State by consulting the following statement, which is based upon the census of the United States and the records of the Auditor of Public Accounts:

In 1860, the census returns showed that Illinois had 4,268 manufacturing establishments, with \$27,548,563 capital invested. There were 22,489 employees. There was paid out for labor, \$7,637,921. The value of the products was \$57,580,886.

In 1880, the number of manufacturing establishments was shown to be 13,347. The capital invested was \$117,-273,585. There were 126,547 employees. There was paid out for labor \$53,693,461. The value of the products was \$346,454,893.

In 1860, there were seventy-three coal mines in operation. The capital invested was \$3,169,290. The number of employees was 1,483. The number of tons of coal mined was 728,400.

In 1880, there were 590 coal mines in operation. The capital invested was \$10,416,552. The number of employees was 16,301. The number of tons of coal mined was 6,115,877.

PHYSICAL RESOURCES.

On the physical resources of a State is dependent everything that contributes to make it great and grand, and Illinois possesses these elements in an eminent degree. In her onward march in greatness and wealth, agriculture and its kindred pursuits have kept pace with the rapid progress in other branches of industry, and a retrospect reference to the primitive days of agriculture will be pleasing and instructive. In contrast with the early mode of doing farm work, we print an extract from an elaborate paper from the pen of W. C. Flagg, now deceased, of Moro, in 1876, which gives a vivid picture of early farming: "Forty or fifty years ago the mould-boards of the plows were made of wood, which was possibly, in some cases, covered with hoop-iron. These plows were about the only implements used in working with the soil, harrows with wooden teeth and rollers being poorly made and but little used. Corn-planters had not yet superseded the bare-footed boys and girls, and wheat drills were entirely unknown. The grain cradle, a great improvement on the sickle, though used in Madison county, it is said, as early as 1819, was but just coming into vogue. Grass was still cut with the scythe and raked with hand-rakes. Wheat and other grain was tramped out with horses, who traveled in a circle over a carefully-adjusted ring of bundles, laid with heads lapping over the butts and towards the coming hoofs,—all this has changed. The gang and sulkey plows have increased the capacity of human labor and decreased its severity. Machines drill the wheat, cut and even bind the grain, and thresh and winnow it. Machines cut, rake, load and pitch the hay."

The records of the Auditor of Public Accounts show the aggregate number of acres of cultivated land in 1860 to have been 7,364,626.

